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THE RÔLES OF EGO AND LIBIDO IN DEVELOPMENT ¹

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PART I

The specific stimuli for this paper have been three :

(1) Freud's work on the economics of libidinal ontogeny, limits of absorption of libidinal quantities, etc. (e.g. 'On Narcissism : An Introduction', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 42), which runs through all his later writings, and is particularly striking in *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*.

(2) My own work on infantile libidinal positions founded, of course, on Freud's wonderful insight into these complex states, and further supported by Klein's powers of empathy in this direction. In particular the effect on the child of 'primal scenes' has exercised me.

(3) The extraordinarily interesting paper by Brun, of Zurich, on 'The Theory of Selection and the Pleasure Principle' which appeared in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* as long ago as 1923, Vol. IX, No. 2. I seem ever since that time to have lived in expectation of seeing some flowering and fruiting from that suggestive sowing. It is largely my amazement at the apparent lack of fulfilment of this expectation ² which has incited me to venture on the field of thought to which I invite attention here.

In order to bring the second, the more directly biological part of

¹ Read at the British Psycho-Analytical Society, February 6, 1929.

² Ferenczi's fascinating 'Versuch einer Genitaltheorie' had a different standpoint and a different way of approach to biological problems.

this paper, into line with this, the more clinical part, I will first try to clear the ground a little with regard to terms.

Brun published a second interesting article in *Imago*, XII, p. 147, giving biological parallels to the Freudian theory of instincts. I consider that these two articles of Brun's free me from the necessity of spending time in justifying the view of pre-human life as subject to the same essential psychological factors as ours, with the same fundamental possibilities of clash between ego and libidinal trends. I retain these terms instead of self-preservative and race-preservative trends because I approach the subject from the point of view of the psycho-analyst and not of the biologist. Here I follow Freud's grouping of instincts in his paper on 'Narcissism' (*Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 35), where he mentions biological as well as psycho-analytic observations as being in its favour. And whatever the differentiations and developments in these trends as between the highest and lowest, or most and least complicated forms of life, we know that the trends are in essentials the same throughout. The ego, in its simplest and earliest form, is merely that part of the being which brings it in touch with reality or the outer world through perceptive systems or instances (*Ego and Id*, Ch. III, opening sentences)—the modification of and development out of the id. Since this touch with reality must be brought about by means of the body, it follows that the part or parts of the body concerned in effecting this connection with exterior reality are the kernel of the ego ('The ego is above all a body-ego'. Freud: *The Ego and the Id*, Ch. II, p. 31). The final result of increasing differentiation and development of this reality organ acting through specialized physical organs is consciousness, with possibilities of the perception of the self as an exterior or independent reality: self-consciousness. The terms ego and libidinal instincts or trends have none of the teleological import involved in the terms self- and race-preservative instincts. The ego *does* die if it is not capable of preserving the self; also it will suffer if libidinal tensions are excessive and cannot be lessened. In the first place the libido acted merely reproductively—it *did* perpetuate the race; with the emergence of sex there came some differentiation between the reproductive (fission and growth) and the other sexual elements of libido. There is, of course, a fundamental unity between ego and libidinal trends. There can be no reproduction if the body does not live to reproduce, the self can only arise as the result of the reproductive act; it cannot live if libidinal tensions produce too great discomfort. This mention of discomfort brings us to the question of the pleasure

principle, which as indicating the necessity of avoiding too great displeasure, the heaping up of internal tensions, is, of course, essential to all life. The reality principle, as Freud has often pointed out, involves no abrogation of the pleasure principle ; it is merely the ego, as distinct from the id, way of avoiding displeasure—ultimately threats to life. If the ego does not take the reality way in essentials, it dies ; therefore an ego capable of doing this is a necessity for survival. The survival condition is the possibility of dealing with internal tensions in such a way that the ego need not fear disaster from external conditions : or, in other words, the possibility of bringing about some sort of equilibrium between internal needs and external conditions. This is the reality-principle, and it is obviously in the service of the avoidance of pain, or discomfort, eventually death.

Let us now make some attempt to understand early child life in terms of the proportionate strengths of ego and libido. The infant has not yet a strong ego. It can do very little without help. The ego, embracing in itself all relation to reality, learns by experience, and therefore needs much time to pass from immaturity to maturity. The libido apart from the ego can have no relation to reality : it is in itself impervious to experience, can know no maturity or immaturity, and is already present in the little child in such quantities that it may, on any growth through stimulation or deprivation, threaten the overflow of the ego and leave it the prey to anxiety. This instability of equilibrium between ego and libido makes possible infantile sexual traumata ; it alone makes possible a relation between parents on the one hand and child on the other which can have little or no relation to reality. The very little boy child desires with his mother that intercourse which, if he might, he could not carry out ; he has rivalries and jealousies at times as out of proportion to any actual state of affairs as if a glow-worm should fear the sun shone for the express purpose of making its own light invisible. His fears often bear no proportion to reality : they bear always a very exact proportion to the strength of his libidinal wishes.

To take a typical case often played with most precise detail in children's analyses. A little boy of a few months to three years in his cot becomes aware of something happening in the parents' bed ; he may be vague as to the exact process, he is not at all vague as to its nature. He feels that his love sources are being threatened ; his own love desires are enormously stimulated ; he cannot stand the pressure of them, and yet he can do not one satisfactory thing about it. There

are well-authenticated cases of a child for the first time standing up in bed, or speaking in such circumstances, so great is the drive. He *can* cry and at length bring one of the parents to him, it is true, but for his stimulated libido this can be but very meagre satisfaction. It is the tragedy of human infancy that the parents can satisfy the ego, but can do practically nothing for the fully-stimulated libido—not even understanding. He wants to be able to march to the parents' bed, kill one parent, possess the other. How far does this situation fall short of possibility! Up to this point I find no sign of the ego failing in its task. It recognizes, up to the level of its development, both the impossibility of action and the strength of the libidinal wishes. Here comes the dilemma. It feels itself in danger of being overwhelmed by a force ignorant of all reality conditions, forcing it towards situations which it is utterly incapable of meeting, which it would be equally dangerous to meet, if it could. When it comes to the matter of killing, what chance has it? The libido is now the enemy, and from it the ego takes a kind of flight, or at least attempts to ignore it (first repression. See *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, pp. 14 and 15. Love deprivations can, of course, bring about the same heaping up of libidinal tensions as exterior stimulation.). But the problem is by no means solved: the libido still presses for satisfaction. As we know, several things may happen: the ego has a variety of ways of dealing with the difficulty according to interior and exterior possibilities, but one thing *always* happens. It attracts the libido to itself: says 'love me, and in some ways I will be like that dangerously desired object'. It divides libidinal forces against themselves: ³ it makes an alliance with part of libido against libido; it creates the super-ego: but at a cost. It has given up its own reality sense with regard to libidinal wishes—the super-ego knows them, the ego does so no longer; neither for the same reason can the ego know the libidinal forces of the super-ego; exterior realities, the parent or parents, are now represented in the super-ego by a very libidinated instance, with only partial reality values. Further, the ego, having no power of selection against internal stimuli, in attracting to itself the love of the id, has attracted also its sadism. It has made a defensive alliance on terms which

³ For a rather more detailed effort to elucidate some of these points, see my paper 'Danger Situations of the Immature Ego' read at the Eleventh International Psycho-Analytical Congress at Oxford, 1929: INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. X, p. 423.

involve possibilities of suffering and definite loss of a part of its function—of its reality sense: the inevitable cost of such an alliance with reality—impervious forces. It brings in guilt to its aid in its fight against the libido.⁴ The Œdipus complex, unique in mankind in all the animal world, is repressed.

It may be useful at this point to give some idea of the type of play from which these conclusions are drawn. I choose the case of a boy whose observation of parental coitus at the age of two was explicitly confirmed by the mother.

P., aged seven, with severe paranoic tendencies, makes a 'boy' by stuffing a cushion cover with all kinds of toys and oddments. Some problem of birth is thus indicated, and various signs show that the 'boy' is himself. P. pulls the curtains, and tries to make the room as dark as possible: it is night. I have the 'boy' beside me on a divan while P. on the other couch (the 'mother' couch because one can get inside it—it has padded ends and back) is a lion performing most marvellous feats, climbing, diving, etc., etc. Thus the 'boy', so small he cannot move alone—he has no legs—can watch the father's wonderful performances with the bad mother, provided the good mother is with him. I am never to leave the 'boy' alone. But not for long is this sufficient protection. P. does an extraordinary series of leaps from one couch to the other, sometimes as the angry lion father menacing the 'boy', sometimes as the 'boy' now grown as powerful as the lion father. Anxiety grows until he attempts most violent assaults on the 'boy', on the furniture in the room, on me. Thereafter he makes out of a reversed wicker chair a kind of a cage for himself on the divan from which the 'boy' and I had previously watched the lion's performances. He may only look through the bars and not move outside; clearly the enclosing bars of the cot. Perhaps he even puts a cover over the chair-cage so that he cannot see out at all and tries to keep quiet inside. But he cannot unless he is fed: he is very hungry. And the food he has to have is the ball with which the 'lion' father on the other couch has done some of his wonderful performances. But this is never quite safe 'food' and often has to be thrown away. The paternal penis, partial object, is internalized in the effort to achieve independence of happenings on the other couch (bed); but with such a strong element of danger attached that it often has to be externalized

⁴ See Ernest Jones, 'The Early Development of Female Sexuality': INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. VIII, p. 463.

(thrown away). Other incidents proved up to the hilt that this was one of the chief mechanisms of his struggle with a dangerously aggressive super-ego—the effort to externalize it, at worst to exterminate it—‘I can do everything I want, and there is nothing and no one to stop me’; one step nearer the road to normality, to project it, ‘I can do everything I want except when you stop me’. And here the stopping, however mildly carried out, has all the dangerous qualities of the original internalized super-ego. How small a reality proportion is present in the sense of guilt is shown us in every day’s analysis of small children. A little patient, aged two and threequarters, after playing in and out of my room happily for a number of analytical sessions while the nurse was outside, had a severe fit of anxiety screaming when he was asked to come in without her supporting presence. Still in great terror, he just managed it on condition that he should crawl in on all fours. His anxiety disappeared and his crying stopped when I asked him if he had not slept in Daddy’s and Mummy’s room when he was quite little, i.e. before he could walk, and if he did not now believe he must not go back into that room, but must remain in the nursery, i.e. with the nurse, unless he became quite small again. He enthusiastically agreed, heard my further interpretation and remained happily. Yet actually he *did* go quite freely in and out of his parents’ room in the daytime. The transference of an early libidinal position alone made the difference, and the first anxiety situation, covering which there were later ones connected with the birth of a sister, was a primal scene with much anxiety at the age of six to seven months. He had then screamed so loudly that a rather managing and interfering nurse had rushed in and carried him out. His only other fit of acute anxiety in analysis was several months later, when he was three and a half. He had managed to spill so much water when in the lavatory that before I could wipe it up some had trickled through to a lower storey, and a woman in some slight agitation came up to tell me so, but neither she nor I made any real trouble over it. Apparently he was undisturbed, but when all was adjusted and we were back in my room together, his anxiety suddenly became so acute and he screamed in such an access of terror that he could neither hear nor say anything. Only later did he tell me that he thought there really was a man ready to shoot him. It is quite true that the spilling of the water was connected with libidinal wishes towards mother and against father. But in actuality his father was mild and loving and quite unusually free from any pedagogic attitude to childish accidents. Also the little

boy's attitude to reality was unusually well developed at all points where anxiety did not interfere with it and make effective the libidinal pleasure-pain instead of the ego reality principle. (. . . 'a real anxiety, anxiety before a danger really threatening or *considered* (beurteilen) real' (writer's italics). Freud: *Hemmung, Symptom und Angst*, pp. 14 and 39.) What happens in analysis? Why was this little patient gradually able to weather the full force of his libidinal wishes, and at four years old take his place in ordinary school life as well as in a happy home life? Because the great demand for an undeveloped ego had been met. No longer was a grown-up useful to him only for ego and sublimated libidinal needs, but could also help him with regard to *all* libidinal impulses: the great lack in human infantile conditions had been met. This is, of course, the essential in all analyses, of adult as well as of child. The analyst, as well as eventually the analysand, adult or child, acquires a specialized extension of the ego position involving recognition of the libidinal wishes of the id; i.e. the ego, developed to deal with reality, can in certain cases and under certain conditions now afford to deal on a reality basis with the libidinal urges; it can therefore develop some power of selectivity towards these as heretofore towards exterior stimuli. It can exercise judgement instead of flight. Freud was the first in the world's history to whom this became possible to any coherent extent, although we well know that genius of all ages has had this power either in flashes or partially.

On the other hand, madness, so really and nearly akin to genius, also acknowledges the reality of libidinal urges. But genius has a sufficiently strong ego to bind the libido, to retain the ascendancy; in madness the libido gains the ascendancy over the ego. It is the high, but still only partial reality value accorded by poets and artists and musicians to their libidinal phantasy life which makes them what they are. But Freud was the first to see the scientific or full reality value of the inner as of the outer world. There must in his case have been some peculiarly stable balance achieved between high-power libidinal and ego forces. To some few others, with the support of Freud, this has also been possible. To the vast majority it is only possible with the even more direct support of another ego—i.e. by means of analysis, the analyst keeping firm hold of both reality positions the while. Then the full libidinal urge can be safely experienced. But the whole of the libidinal urge does not remain libidinal. The ego directly appropriates the force of some of this released libidinal

drive, leaving it capable of judgement as to that part of it which remains directly sexual. The former goes, in the small child, to create sublimations, in the adult either to create new sublimations or permit of the more successful and less anxiety-ridden carrying out of previous sublimations. There is no longer a splitting of *enemy* forces by the ego in order to strengthen itself by a defensive alliance with one part against the other (super-ego against id), involving always the possibility of recombination of libidinal forces (super-ego and id against ego); there is now a harmonious working arrangement, still adding to ego forces, but in a manner involving no loss to any party concerned.

Following out the fates of ego and libido from this point of view, I find I have a clearer idea of their distinctive qualities and of their respective rôles. The ego meets reality; primary ego needs are imperative, unalterable. But *what* reality, since, as we have seen, this contact with reality may be related to the simplest conditions or extended to the most complicated? *Why* this imperiousness, this incapacity for modification in the primary urges?

Because the ego is alive to the reality of death.

This seems to me the essence of the ego. It knows what it has to do, not in order to live, but in order to avoid death. This, for me, is one meaning of Freud's grouping of the ego impulses as death impulses. This is why the ego can, must, in its later developments, become alive also to the danger of partial deaths, or deaths of parts of itself—mutilation, etc. It becomes alive, not merely to the reality of death or not-being, but through it to all reality.

Libidinal urges, on the other hand, allow of postponement and deflection, but they, apart from ego, have no knowledge of reality: are, of course, by hypothesis, inaccessible to it, since otherwise they would be ego forces. They know no death. Why indeed should they? Sex plasm can be immortal, and they originate from the urge to reproduction. We know how all drones exist for the sake of the single drones which succeed in marrying the queen bees and then die; how the praying mantis male is eaten by the female almost in the act of copulation; how males of animals higher in the scale fight even to the death for their mates each season; how in man passion can blind him to the dictates of reason and involve him in complete disaster.

This, then, is the reason why, for survival, it is essential that the ego shall be at least as strong as the libido; why directly the libido grows stronger the ego must also increase, or both perish; why a

strong ego still cannot be strong to exterior reality if its forces are so largely employed in fighting the libido when this urges towards a path which the ego judges dangerous. Therefore a capacity for deflection by the ego is a quality of libido which has a high survival value. Another libidinal quality also fits it to ego control—that complete lack of the sense of time which immortality must inevitably bring, and which allows of postponement. Only sense of death can give sense of time ; or perhaps instead of death we should say not-being as compared with being, absence as compared with presence : not-thereness.

Two considerations follow this. The ego must be peculiarly alive to danger just where the libido gathers and drives most strongly, i.e. in the genitalia ; since here the reality disregarding tendencies have their greatest force. That is, the ego will be prone to anxiety in situations which involve the genitalia. This is the biological foundation of castration anxiety in males and what corresponds thereto in females. You will have noticed that, for clearness' sake, I have not hitherto mentioned it. It is the most important example of the partial death fear, or fear of death of part of the self, to which I have just referred. One sees the ego gain in thus concentrating its anxiety on a part of itself ; this fact may even have played its part in the development of genitalia.

The second consideration is that the 'double influx' of genital activity characteristic of man also has its high survival value, since the latency period corresponds with the years of education in any but the most and least highly civilized communities. Thus the ego is more free for this important task. Looked at from the opposite angle, the ego is at this time capable of absorbing unusually large quantities of libido in the development of the various sublimations involved in learning.

PART II

My theme in the first part of this paper has been the importance for satisfactory ontogenetic development of two factors : (1) the preponderance of ego over libidinal forces, (2) the bringing about of this preponderance by means of sublimation ; the utilizing of libidinal drives by the ego. A patient may have excellent ego capacities and external possibilities ; intelligence, physique, highly developed senses, opportunities ; yet even under severe pressure of external reality he may be unable to make use of the former in order to combat the latter. What alters the situation ? We have no doubt about it.

It is attainment of libidinal freedom, i.e. the availability of libido to support the ego in addition to attaining its own direct sexual satisfactions, and the consequent setting free for other purposes of that part of the ego forces previously engaged in combating the libido. What influences most markedly the ego development of the little child? The extent to which the Œdipus difficulties are overcome—again the extent to which libido is set free to work with and not against the ego, to produce the various sublimations which are the mark of human development.

The point which we have reached is this: in satisfactory human development there is libido available for other purposes than the directly sexual.

We can therefore restate the second of the above two factors thus: the availability for ego purposes of 'free' libido—that not required for directly sexual purposes.

Can we find any confirmation in the domain of biology of this statement of the case? And conversely, can ontogeny provide us with any suggestion of a neglected developmental factor which can be 'tried out' in its application to phylogeny? Brun gives an affirmative answer to the latter question in the paper to which I have referred. It was based on Wasman's work on *The Hospitality of Ants and Symphilitic Instincts*. I will summarize it quite briefly.

Brun points out that types of 'behaviour' (instinctive or psychic) characteristic of different species are the product of phylogenetic development, and, according to previous formulations of the theory of selection, arise exclusively under the drive of necessity, or, in psycho-analytical terminology, the reality-principle, no part in this development being allotted to the pleasure principle as the formative factor; yet, he says, one cannot doubt the importance of the pleasure premium as the primary factor, without the presence of which the most essential acts would not be carried through or even begun. Now 'guest-rearing' is a phenomenon seen at its highest in two species of short-winged beetles, *Lomechusa* and *Atemeles*. Not only they themselves, but also their larvæ are received, nursed and fed by certain ants; yet they play the part of food robbers in the ant-world and some even devour the offspring of their hosts. Further, so much attention is devoted to these insatiable 'symphilites' that the ants' own should-be feminine larvæ are underfed and are useless both for reproduction and for work. The ants thus rear in their guests their worst enemies. This extraordinary state of affairs comes about for the sake of a

particular exudation, which the ants lick with passionate greed, and which has a strongly narcotic effect on them. The possession of this exudation is thus of biological advantage to the guests, the beetles, but the passion for it is of biological disadvantage to the hosts, the ants, even to the point of finally threatening their very existence. Hence the highly developed symphilitic instinct, which is a specific inheritance connected with smell-engrams—particular species of ants tolerating only their particular symphilite—can have nothing to do with the principle of natural selection as generally formulated. Thus, says Brun, room must be found in the theory of natural selection for the part played by the pleasure principle : it can evidently work either towards or against the existence of species in assisting or preventing that adaptation to reality which is essential to life. For example, Wheeler showed that in many species the sexless “worker” ants so important in the great ant colonies have a pleasure-gain (oral instead of genital) in sucking the exudations of their nurslings ; sexuality is not eliminated, but shifted and sublimated. Here is pleasure the handmaid of necessity or the staff of usefulness, as contrasted with its part in leading to degeneration and even extirpation in the example I have quoted from Wasman (through Brun). The point of the contrast is evidently this ; whether ‘id’ pleasure trends—and on these examples we may definitely say *libidinal* trends—work in alliance with or in opposition to reality or ego trends. The theme is the influence of libido on ego, of pleasure on reality trends, and the previous failure to take this factor into account.

As psycho-analysts, we are already familiar with the outstanding fact of individual human development, man’s double struggle with external and with internal forces, his struggle for existence as conditioned *both* by reality and by libidinal desires. We know to what extent the rôle of the latter had been ignored before the advent of our science, and therefore we can feel no measure of surprise if the factors influencing phylogeny have shared the fate of the ontogenetic factors ; if it should ultimately prove that the experts on evolution have hitherto emphasized the importance of the ego capacities, eye, hand, brain, adaptability,⁵ and of the pressure of external reality, food deprivation, etc., to the exclusion of the libidinal urges. Yet since the power of sublimation distinguishes man from the animal world, and since this power depends on the possibility of ego use of a supply of libido *in*

⁵ Elliot Smith, *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, p. 296.

addition to that required for directly sexual purposes (see above), it is no far cry to the speculation that a quantitative increase of libido may be an important factor in the evolution of the human race—possibly in the origin of all species.

An endeavour to answer the first of the two questions formulated at the beginning of this section will lead us further afield. We want to know what light biology can throw on the question of the relative importance of the ego and the libido, and on their inter-relations. A general outline of an answer to this question is to be found in the comments I have already made on the answer to the second question provided by Brun's work. Biology, if we follow Brun, tells us that for survival id libidinal trends must work in alliance with, and not in serious opposition to, reality or ego trends. Id trends in alliance with ego trends mean something that is the precursor of sublimation.

(a) We may take as our starting point the statement that for purposes of sublimation the ego must have at its disposal libido available for other purposes than the directly sexual. The essential conditions for this availability are two: (1) the quantitative, already mentioned, (2) the temporal—that it shall be always 'on tap' so to speak, a more or less constant supply. Of these, the first, quantity, must be the fundamental one, of which the second is one result.

In man alone are both these conditions fulfilled. With the exception of domestic carnivores, man is the only animal whose sexual desires are not seasonally limited (e.g. Carveth Read, *Origin of Man*, p. 13).

It is true that there remain traces of sexual periodicity in man. Havelock Ellis, reviewing the evidence for and against this in both sexes, comes to the conclusion that 'the regular existence in women of a menstrual wave of sexual desire' has been demonstrated (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VIII, p. 235); and while also recognizing signs of a corresponding phenomenon in males, says 'in woman . . . the sexual impulse shows a much more marked tendency to periodicity than in man' (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 254). And again (Vol I, p. 159): 'Thus, while the sexual climaxes of spring and autumn are rooted in animal procreative cycles which in men have found expression in primitive festivals—these, again, perhaps, strengthening and developing the sexual rhythm—they yet have a wider significance. They constitute one among many manifestations of spring and autumn physiological disturbance corresponding with fair precision to the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. They resemble those periods of

atmospheric tension, of storm and wind, which accompany the spring and autumn phases in the earth's rhythm, and they may fairly be regarded as ultimately a physiological reaction to those cosmic influences'. And (Vol. I, p. 137) 'The considerations so far brought forward clearly indicate that among primitive races there are frequently one or two seasons in the year—especially spring and autumn—during which sexual intercourse is chiefly or even exclusively carried on, and they further indicate that these primitive customs persist to some extent even in Europe to-day. It would still remain to determine whether any such influence affects the whole mass of the civilized population and determines the times at which intercourse, or fecundation, most frequently takes place'. Further, Carr-Saunders (*The Population Problem*, p. 93) says: 'We do find evidence of the former existence in man of a special sexual season, and this is of particular interest because it suggests that at one time there was in man as there usually is in monkeys, one season only during which conception could follow copulation'. But all this deals with traces or special cases only.

It is also true that Dr. Friedrich Alverdes (*Tierssoziologie*, pp. 22, 28 and 29) quotes authorities both for and against the periodicity of the sex impulses in antelope, zebra, and rhinoceros, but these exceptions are so doubtful in themselves and so few in number that they can hardly militate against the general thesis. With regard to those animals nearest to man, in some apes the males are *always* capable of the reproductive act, while the females menstruate every month (Alverdes, *Tierssoziologie*, p. 28). As to the higher apes, of which Köhler says (*The Mentality of Apes*, p. 1) 'We are aware that it is a question of beings which in many ways are nearer to man than to the other ape species', he tells us 'there appears to be among the chimpanzees nothing resembling the unrestrained and all-absorbing sexual impulse which is attributed to some species of monkeys' (*ibid.*, p. 302). And further, 'It seems to me that among these animals sexual excitement is less specific and less differentiated from other kinds of excitement than among human beings. We may almost say that any strong emotion and thus also any strong external stimulus tends to react directly upon both the colon and the genitals, but not so as to give the impression of exaggerated and concentrated sexuality, but rather of an extreme vehemence and interdependence of all vivid inner processes. We may even say that this frequency of sexual effects implies a certain trivialization of this sphere of life, rather than an accentuation'. Again, 'the sexuality of these animals is fairly

diffuse, especially in so far as there is not, either before or after puberty, any *absolute* differentiation or orientation according to sex. . . . The sexuality of the chimpanzee is as it were less *sexual* than that of the civilized human being. Often when two chimpanzees meet one another they seem to "sketch" or indicate movements which can hardly be classed definitely under either the category of joyous and cordial welcome, or that of sexual intimacy. (The female of the species definitely menstruates at intervals of thirty to thirty-one days, and always for a period of between three and six weeks. During the flow her sexual instincts are absolutely quiescent, but her temper is often particularly amiable. After the cessation of the flow there is an access of sexual desire, accompanied by an enormous swelling round the genitalia)', involving discomfort and even suffering (*op. cit.*, pp. 302-3).

These animals are, of course, observed in captivity, but Yerkes' account, which tallies with Köhler's in essentials, is of chimpanzees which were kept sufficiently healthy and happy to breed, therefore we may suppose their sexuality not to be too greatly affected by the unnatural conditions. How closely these animals resemble human beings can be appreciated by readers of these two books, *The Mentality of Apes* (Köhler) and Yerkes' *Almost Human*. I would suggest that the large remaining differences bear some definite proportion to the remaining differences in regulation of the sexual life. It is worth while to look more closely at these, although the precise information at our disposal is slight. While in 'some species of monkeys' libido is supposed to be rampant and undisguised, apparently an intermediate stage of libidinal 'overflow', in chimpanzees it is, in its 'on tap' condition, in everyday relationships, judged as 'less sexual'; i.e. partially desexualized in its alliance with the ego—something in the direction of sublimation, surely. Again, in 'some apes' the males are *always* capable of the reproductive act; the males are thus in the same condition in this respect as human beings; but, at least in chimpanzees, the restraint of male sex impulses in their direct form through the physiological condition of the female, lasts for three to six weeks at a time, with periods between of thirty to thirty-one days in which the sexual advance of the male is tolerated or welcomed. (A good sound biological foundation, this, for the fact that the fundamental fear in every child is that the mother will forbid his sexual activities.) And in spite of this difference in regulation of sexual impulses as between chimpanzee and woman there is this similarity:

that menstruation⁶ is no longer the one period for conjugation as in lower animals. In the chimpanzee, it is, on the contrary, the blank period: in the woman, it is no longer impossible, but merely a less favoured period, speaking generally. Among primitive races it is, of course, a 'tabooed' period. That is, man, who has no seasonal canalization of sexual impulse, has yet achieved *another kind of restraint* no longer dependent on the id or physiological functioning, but on the ego and super-ego, and which, as we know, can operate both consciously and unconsciously.

Thus the first part of our enquiry into pre-human history supports the view derived from individual human psychology of the importance for man of his 'free' libido. Further, it indicates this as a distinctively human characteristic. Absence of rigid canalization beyond the possibility of personal control makes possible the presence of greater fluidity under the control of the ego. Of the importance for all development of the latter, the ego control, or, in its earlier stages, ego predominance, we shall have further hints in the next excursion into the realm of biology.

(b) The question of proportion of ego to libidinal trends gives us another point of view from which to consider the history of life. Take the two extremes: man, and the very early forms of life. (1) In man the libido is no longer regulated by the id, but by an ego grown sufficiently strong to take upon itself this important task: a very highly developed ego with distinctively new powers, which are so familiar that they need no insistence; a very highly developed libidinal impulse capable of differentiation according to zone and aim, using the latter term descriptively, and without teleological import; i.e. according to ego zone invested, oral, anal, urethral, genital; and according to 'aim', ego, including narcissistic and sublimated libido, object, reproductive. It perhaps strikes us here that a gradation of the 'aim' group is possible according to the proportion of ego and libido involved, taking the earliest known form of libido, the reproductive, as 'pure', i.e. unmixed libido. Thus we have (a) reproductive libido, (b) object libido in the sense of sexual desire of another person, in which desire for reproduction is either secondary or absent; for the consummation of this, the ego must play its part, but at the moment of consummation consciousness is troubled, i.e. ego-knowledge

⁶ 'Heat and menstruation, with whatever difference of detail, are practically the same phenomenon' (Havelock Ellis, *biid.*, Vol. I, p. 100).

is absent ; (c) narcissistic or partially desexualized libido, where desire for reproduction is entirely absent, and the ego is itself the object ; (d) sublimated libido, i.e. ' desexualized ' because it goes to enrich the ego, and the ego is the predominating partner. In man (a) the reproductive libido may be entirely absent in its original form of reproduction of offspring.

(2) Now let us take the other extreme of animal life, the earliest forms, of which the amœba is the usual type. Here we have a very simple ego trend pattern ; eat, excrete, rest, with exceedingly slight body differentiation. The libidinal pattern, too, is very simple, and purely reproductive. It plays such an important rôle here and throughout the earlier forms of animal life that one might be inclined to think that the ego trends existed only for the sake of the libidinal trends. That this is not so is shown by some extremely interesting experiments. Planarians, a kind of water-worm, were kept in a state of alternate starvation and feeding for a period of some months equalling nineteen generations for well-fed animals. They became reduced in size and remained entirely unreprouductive in the starvation period ; they increased to their original size in the feeding period, at which point they were again starved. They showed no signs whatever of age or of diminished vigour. ' In fact, there is every reason to suppose that the experiment could have been continued indefinitely ; in other words, that the individual Planarian by proper treatment, can be made immortal ' (*Animal Biology*, J. B. S. Haldane and Julian Huxley, p. 178). (a) Here the libido as such plays no part when the ego needs to keep all forces employed in satisfying id non-libidinal hunger ; (b) fission appears to take place only when growth is continued beyond a point with which the ego can cope,⁷ i.e. the needs of the ego predominate in both cases. In (a) the non-libidinal id absorbs the quality of immortality inherent in reproduction. Put more precisely, the reproductive trends are concerned solely with the reproduction or growth of the self. Food is the determining factor ; ego and libidinal hunger fuse, perhaps regress to an earlier state ; reproduction is clearly seen to be merely another form of growth. Again, by varying

⁷ Cf. Heine, quoted by Freud, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

' Disease at bottom brought about
Creative urgency—for, creating
I soon could feel the pain abating,
Creating, I would work it out.'

the culture medium and avoiding conjugation, Woodruff kept a culture of *Paramoecium* in perfectly normal condition for five years, though they reproduced by fission up to more than 3,000 generations, and though in ordinary circumstances they resort to conjugation to repair their dwindling forces after a few generations of fissional reproduction (Dendy's *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology*, p. 81). The presence of continuous and suitable food supply thus ensures the absence of difficulty for the ego-trends in keeping pace with the demands put upon them by growth and fission, which can now proceed indefinitely. Conjugation, in which two individuals or egos are concerned in reproduction, is unnecessary. It is perhaps worth while to remark again the close connection between food and libido, between ego hunger and sex, or in its earliest forms, reproductive hunger. We may remind ourselves that type of food and the manner of obtaining it is the one basic distinction between plants and animals; that among ants and bees sex is determined by type of food. It is certainly quite impossible to doubt the intimacy of the bond between the two hungers, or the fact that for survival ego hunger must take the lead (cf. the facts quoted by Brun on the disastrous effect of overpowering libidinal hunger on ants). It is useful once more to compare the very complicated rôles of the two hungers in man, on which I need not here insist, with their earliest forms. In the amoeba the simple undeveloped ego is devoted to feeding and the allied process of excretion, and the exclusive rôle of libido is the reproductive—the one rôle of libido which in man in the form of reproduction of offspring may be entirely absent. (I waive the question as to whether before the development of sex there *can* be libido, and whether we should not speak of *pre-libidinal* trend, because my point is the continuity, and we are in no danger of misapprehension.)

The next step in libidinal development is conjugation, at first alternating with fissional reproduction, and involving no difference of sex. In *Copromonas*, for example, conjugation consists in the union of two nuclei to make one; two individuals become literally one: after which reproduction by fission is again resumed, presumably at the original rate. We know that the next step is of conjugation by complicated exchange of nuclei between two similar individuals, which thereupon separate: the ego has put libidinal plasm in the way of stimulating itself, and does not need at the same time to redouble its own powers. There is increasing differentiation of an independence between ego and libidinal trends. The next great step is the dividing

of the libidinal process into two, and the appearance of male and female ; we must again suppose, because it relieved the ego burden, halving the libidinal drive. We can schematically represent these methods of conjugation as (1) doubling of the ego, (2) increase of independence between ego and libido, making possible (3) halving the libido ; appearance of sex differentiation. Mutations in which these three successive new ways of reproductive process appeared would have high survival value because they reduced the strain on the ego. The prime necessity is that the ego trends shall be stronger than the libidinal trends ; hence that libidinal pleasure premiums shall never weigh too heavy in the scale against the powers of the ego, that is, against its powers both of procuring them and of avoiding disaster in the process.⁸

It is far beyond the scope of this paper to follow out this principle in detail throughout the tree of life, but the laborious lives of many insects, coupled with the perfection and rigidity of instinct centring round the care of offspring, surely bear witness to the fact that the ego is not yet sufficiently developed to deal with libidinal or reproductive urges otherwise than by means of the strictest canalization, in which id, rather than ego, takes the main share, thus allowing a minimum of plasticity. The emergence of play in the animal world is coupled with great ego-development, and, taking the word in its widest sense, as an activity in which neither ego nor direct reproductive necessities play the chief rôles, it is a hugely important element in all highly-developed civilization, since it includes intellectual and æsthetic pleasures. The distinguishing feature of modern civilizations is the extension of this phenomenon in individuals and classes ; the whole of childhood is increasingly a play time, with an enormous growth of the sphere of the latter in education—little children's school education is now very largely carried out by means of play. And it is no longer the nearly exclusive prerogative of the upper classes of society. A very great proportion of all modern activity is concerned neither with the purely ego necessities of life, nor with reproductive urges. If the view put forward here is correct, it means either that the human ego is now sufficiently developed to be able with safety to allow the libido its increasing or increasingly labile rôle, and that this is true of a sufficient

⁸ Cf. Brun, *op. cit.*, examples of the effect on certain ants of the pleasure principle in the form of passionate greed for the exudations of their symphilites.

number of human beings (it obviously is not so with all), or that we are in the preliminary stages of a situation like that of the ants we have mentioned, when the libido may prove too strong for the ego. It seems to me that by far the most promising and reassuring phenomenon we have in this respect is the proved possibility for the ego to extend its domain not merely in the exterior, but in the interior world, to know something of the libidinal aims of the id. Surely psycho-analysis means one of the most important ego developments in the whole history of the human race. To what extent is the ego now sufficiently assured to admit of a working partnership between the two sets of forces, itself the managing director, with large recognition of the rôle of libido, instead of requiring that its part should be played in complete obscurity or in disguised or the most rigidly limited public appearances? To what extent is the present changing attitude to repressed material the way of denial of anxiety and of megalomania familiar to us in the minor degree as one of the symptoms of, or efforts to side-track, neurosis, in the major degree as psychosis?—in extreme stress, the reiterated 'I am not afraid, I am not afraid; I cannot be, because I am too big and powerful to be afraid'. That both ways are present we cannot doubt; the future of our civilization depends on the relative strengths or frequencies of the two. Roheim's lecture to the British Psycho-Analytical Society in February 1928 showed the dependence of racial and period characteristics on the arrangement and rearrangement of ego and libidinal forces in patterns already familiar to us in individual psychology; anxiety neuroses, obsessions, hysterias, etc., with recurrent regressions from the genital phase. Perhaps we can put the question in this form: how soon, if ever, will the egos of a sufficient number of individuals be strong enough to allow of full and stable libidinal racial development up to the genital phase? Our view of the situation surely gives us some hope that we may safely omit the query 'if ever' from this formulation of the problem.

(c) A third point of view provides further data from pre-human history in the search for biological light on this theme. Here I retrace the first steps of the reasoning which led me to the standpoint I have taken up.

The central question which presented itself to me was this: Why should the sleeping of a child in its parents' room have such disastrous consequences?—so disastrous that analysts definitely advise the removal of a baby from its parents at night at the earliest possible age. I leave on one side the question whether this advice leads us out of the difficulty in the best conceivable way. It is enough that difficulties

of such dimensions are created as to lead to the giving of such advice by those best qualified to know the outcome of primal scene traumata. Do we always realize what a strange situation this is, and how apparently contrary to all previous indications of child-rearing throughout the vast scheme of life? Is it not exactly fitted to bring on us the merited scorn of opponents, who may fling at us the full force of that misused and misunderstood word 'natural', and ask what could be more 'natural' than the sleeping of a baby in its parents' room? How can the occasional risk of the awareness of parental intercourse, even allowing it to be a risk, militate against the exquisite suitability of a child's sleeping near its father and mother, its natural protectors? How can one justify this extraordinary departure from previous race-history? It seems to me not quite sufficient merely to insist on the teaching of scientific experience; where science and 'common sense' seem so definitely opposed some understanding of the source of the opposition is called for, and to point out the effects of repression in creating resistances does not perhaps quite meet the situation. On further enquiry the first thing that strikes us is the evidence in favour of the belief that the real departure from the great mass of pre-human race history may lie rather in the *possibility* of primal scenes in infancy. The far more general rule has been that the young should sleep with the female parent only, in those classes of animals which are not independent from birth. Our next glance at the question shows us, further, that with extremely rare exceptions, and these only in the higher ranks of mammals, can there be any question at all of overstimulation of libido by awareness of parental intercourse; the seasonal character of copulation makes this out of the question during the shorter periods of immaturity and dependence. As exceptions to this rule we have (1) the doubtful point, previously mentioned, of the existence of this periodicity in antelopes, zebra and rhinoceros; and (2) the definite fact that with some mammals the young of two or more litters remain with the parents, e.g. lion cubs are 'brought up' for one and a half years; the higher apes and, above all, elephants have long periods of immaturity and maternal care. (3) In some cases mothers and young remain together in one herd and males in another, and the former may be present in combats for sexual precedence (Alverdes, *Tierssoziologie*, pp. 22, 28, 29, 42, 53). As to whether in any case except the last, when individual ties are obviously weak, the young actually witness the copulation of male and female parents, or of female parent with another male, I can find no certainty.

(1) The possibility of witnessing parental intercourse at an age when there is any close bond between parent and young can only be present very high up in the scale of life, certainly only in the higher mammals, and even here doubtfully. For example, in Yerkes' account of the chimpanzee and gorilla families at Quinta Palatino, Cuba, he supports the view that the chimpanzee mother has neither menstrual periods nor sex interest in the father, although they live together, as long as she is feeding her baby, which may be eighteen months, twenty months, or two years (*Almost Human*, p. 190). As the chimpanzee can generally walk before it is six months old, it is clear that this corresponds to a much longer period in the human baby's life. During this interval the father is often extremely jealous and subject to fits of great rage and excitement, during which, for safety, the keepers separate mother and child from him (*ibid.*, p. 137). Again, 'The tranquillity of a monkey or ape family in captivity is not uninterrupted. Instances of disturbance of the peace of the family by the male and father have been cited for the baboon and the chimpanzee. During the early period of infancy the male parent may behave very well indeed, may appear devoted to his offspring and actually prove helpful in the care of it, although undoubtedly his main responsibility is to provide protection for mother and child. But as the baby requires greater freedom and independence, the father also becomes more independent and more eager apparently, for freedom from the limitations set upon him and his mate by the responsibility for offspring. Then it happens that the male may act as though trying to drive the infant from the household. This was very clearly the tactics of the old male baboon who, if not as reward, at least as sequel to his persecution of his infant son, lost an eye at the hands of his mate' (*ibid.*, p. 193). It seems unlikely that in any ordinary conditions male and female would copulate in the presence of offspring, and certainly not while they were of tender age. In all possible cases the chances of witnessing it must be enormously reduced as compared with the case of parents and child shut up in one room.

(2) The second point is by far the more important. Since in mature pre-human animals sexual desire is highly canalized, i.e. is seasonal, it is therefore in all probability canalized or 'bound' before maturity also.⁹ Hence the chances of over-stimulation of free libido

⁹ Psycho-analysis demonstrates the fundamental similarity of libidinal positions in infancy and in maturity in spite of the tremendous ego

are practically *nil*: i.e. of stimulation which can by any possibility prove traumatic by means of awareness of parental intercourse or parental libidinal relations in general.

You will see how this train of thought has brought us to exactly the same point as that arising out of Brun's article—the specifically human character of non-canalized or non-seasonal sexual impulses in combination with a strong ego, and the importance of this for the understanding of other differences between humans and pre-humans, both the young and the adults.

(d) An interesting sidelight was thrown on this matter of ego disposal of libidinal forces by a paper called 'Problems of the Psychology of Music', by Sigmund Pfeifer (*Imago*, 1923, Vol. IX, pp. 452-462). In it the development of animal music with its intimate connection with sexual behaviour was regarded as due to the necessity of reducing the narcissistic libido-potential in a sexually excited but immature organism that has not yet reached the stage of object love. We may make it clearer by an example; the sexually excited male bird which has not yet found the female with which to unite has its libido at peculiarly high tension; it will be advantageous to it to keep it for the moment at a lower tension; its ego powers of search, flight, etc., are in the meantime the more important. The development of song is one way of accomplishing this reduction of libidinal tension. I should like to carry the suggestion further. Is it not equally likely that many secondary sex characters have the same origin, e.g. brilliant plumage, spurs, combs, etc.? We know that the female which is not in the position of having to await the readiness of the male does not develop these. There is room for much research into facts, confirmatory or contradictory. Meanwhile it is obvious that where the libido is at high pressure and cannot yet become genital object libido, some way of carrying off this surplus would be an advantage; the development of song, of specially bright plumage at this particular time might have this function, while proving also of high value in sexual selection. These two hypotheses for the development of secondary sex characters do not clash, but supplement each other. The relative importance,

differences in capacity and opportunity: therefore we have good grounds for supposing that the same argument holds good in the animal world; if in maturity sexual desire can be limited to definite seasons, in immaturity it will not exceed manageable limits, i.e. in Breuer's terminology, it can be 'bound'.

the exact rôles played by the two, it is not, of course, for me to suggest ; but at least the hypothesis I have put forward does something to relieve the admittedly overworked shoulders of sexual selection. For psycho-analysts and all familiar with stigmata phenomena, the idea of physical change brought about by narcissistic libido can have no terrors. Neither have we to fear the vexed question of inheritance of acquired characteristics. Those mutations which allow of the most satisfactory balance between ego and libidinal trends will have the highest survival value, and the development of secondary sex characters may in some cases be the most satisfactory arrangement for this balance. (See Julian Huxley, *Essays of a Biologist*, 'Sex Biology and Psychology', p. 136 : 'In birds on the other hand, although here too the internal secretion of the gonad delimits a period in which alone congress of the sexes can occur, it does not act for such a sharply-limited time as in the mammal, nor is it so intense as completely to override other components of the mind. As a result, general emotional stimulus may play an important part in inducing readiness to pair, and we accordingly find display of some sort, either by the male alone or by both sexes, present in the great majority of species. It is at least partly in correlation with this that beauty of voice and brilliant appearance is far commoner in birds than in mammals'.)

To me the scant reference among evolutionists to the factor on which I have laid stress in this paper is most striking. In the whole of Darwin's *Descent of Man* and *The Origin of Species* I could not find one sentence on the subject of seasonal sexual impulses and differentiations in this respect. Yet how large looms the subject of heredity, which cannot be dissociated from sexual impulse ! It is true that recently there is some change in this direction due in part to the direct influence of psycho-analytical theory, and in part to the same factors which brought about the emergence of psycho-analysis itself. For example, in Julian Huxley's *Essays of a Biologist* (loc. cit., p. 140) I find two paragraphs on this subject. 'There are, however, also changes of considerable biological importance on the physical side. Man brings with him from his animal ancestors the endocrine secretory mechanism of the reproductive organs ; but his life is not subordinated to it in such an iron-bound way. To start with, he has gradually lost all semblance of a breeding-season. Traces of it survive in some primitive races, but in civilized communities all one can say is that the number of births may show a slight seasonal variation ; and the reproductive organs are capable of function in all twelve months of the year—a state

of affairs known, I believe, in no other vertebrate or at least in no wild species.

'In the second place, there has been in the female a further emancipation of the sexual life. In all other mammals the female will only receive the male at certain well-defined periods, which in their turn depend on cyclical changes in the ovaries. In man this restriction has been overcome, and, in spite of the survival of a certain degree of cyclical change in feeling, neither sex is restricted any longer to certain physically-determined periods for consummation of its sexual life. This is, we may say, a triumph of mind over matter in the human organism, of the mental elements of the sexual life over the purely physical elements'.

As far as my knowledge goes, too, investigations on the psychological differences between male and female have omitted this particular sphere. Yet it must be important. Carr-Saunders (*The Population Problem*, p. 43) says: 'Generally speaking the male' (i.e. of animals) 'is always prepared for the act of copulation and the act takes place when the female is ready to receive the male. This is so among mammals whether the male experiences a sexual season known as the "rut" as among stags, or whether he does not as in dogs; for the period of "rut" lasts longer than the period during which the female is ready to receive'. Also Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Vol. I, p. 100), 'If it is, perhaps, somewhat excessive to declare, with Johnstone, that woman is the only animal in which rut is omnipresent, we must admit that the two groups of phenomena merge into or replace each other, that their object is identical, that they involve similar psychic conditions. Here, also, we see a striking example of the way in which women preserve a primitive phenomenon which earlier in the zoological series was common to both sexes, but which man has now lost. Heat and menstruation, with whatever difference of detail, are practically the same phenomenon. We cannot understand menstruation unless we bear this in mind'.

On the lines of my paper this would seem to indicate a later ego development in females than in males—a theory which is supported by much in the history of female *versus* male human development, even allowing for such exceptions as the matriarchal system, etc. On the other hand, the pre-human physiology of the female genitalia necessarily held in check the sexual impulses of the male, certainly in those cases in which males were always capable of reproduction. It meant a fixed dominance of female over male with regard to occasion

in sexual matters, with dominance for the male in the majority of cases with regard to performance. The present-day convention that it is for man to propose marriage and for woman to accept or refuse has its obvious biological origin. It transfers to woman's ego the situation that once prevailed by virtue of her physiological or id processes. And it may well be that the present-day uncertainty with regard to the relative rôles in everyday life and affairs to be allotted to male and female may at least in part be due to the fact that a phylogenetic smoothness of adjustment has not yet been fully attained in this transference to the ego of the allotment of libidinal rôles hitherto physiologically determined. In any case, this situation needs evaluation for understanding of the psychological differences between man and woman. I would only suggest that if I am not entirely wrong, here is a field for much inquiry and research. But that is nothing new. In what sphere of application of Freud's theories has this not been so? Life is the history of the alliance and struggles between ego and libido, between life urges in the two time-planes of breadth and length—self-preservation, preservation of the race.

BISEXUALITY¹

BY

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Freud has said,² 'Since becoming acquainted with the aspect of bisexuality I hold this factor as here decisive, and I believe that without taking into account the factor of bisexuality it will hardly be possible to understand the actually observed sexual manifestations in man and woman'.

This statement was made over twenty years ago, and I conclude still holds good at the present time ; yet it is a remarkable fact that this aspect of the sexual life of men and women has received scant attention by psycho-analysts. The reason for this neglect to investigate and elucidate a subject which is of fundamental importance must be due to some deep psychological resistance to it even among psycho-analysts.

In this connection I am reminded of what Karen Horney says in her paper on 'The Problem of the Monogamous Ideal'³ when she complains that this subject has not been investigated psycho-analytically. She says, 'Perhaps the whole question touches us too nearly to form an attractive object of scientific curiosity and ambition. But it is also possible that it is not the problems but the conflicts which touch us too closely, lie too close to some of the deepest roots of our most intimate personal experience'. I think these remarks of Karen Horney are equally applicable to the question of bisexuality and perhaps even more so. There are numerous instances in Freud's writings where he has stressed the importance of problems and their need for elucidation, and psycho-analysts have seized upon them and investigated them from all sides. But in this particular instance of bisexuality no real scientific work has been done along psycho-analytical lines, although Freud has expressly stated its fundamental importance. One might ask the question : Are we sure we really know very much

¹ Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, January 16, 1929.

² *Three Contributions to the Sexual Theory*, New York, 1910, p. 68.

³ *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*, Vol. IX, p. 318.

about the ' actually observed sexual manifestations in man and woman ' when we know so little of the question of bisexuality ?

The unconscious resistances to bisexuality are, I believe, easily explicable, but it is not my intention to go into them. Such explanations are usually met by rationalizations from which even psychoanalysts are not immune. The remarks I am about to make are for the purpose of following up Freud's valuable suggestion, and thus to make some contribution to a subject which is so fundamental in character.

The term bisexuality, as it is generally used, may be defined as the existence in every human being of two sexual attitudes, namely, a masculine one and a feminine one, and that under certain conditions he or she can utilize either the one or the other attitude towards the sexual object. If this definition is for the present approximately correct, then bisexuality is worthy of the fullest consideration and explanation ; for not only does this subject have to be considered and explained from the physical point of view, but also from its psychical aspect.

A good deal has been written on the physical aspect of bisexuality in so far as this relates to the appearance of the two types of sex organs, that is male and female, appearing in one person of either sex, and of the manifestations of the secondary sex characteristics of the opposite sex in such a person. However, I do not intend to deal with this aspect of bisexuality in this paper. This side of the question seems to me to be only of use as tending to corroborate certain ideas I am about to bring forward. I will only mention here that complete physical hermaphroditism, that is to say, fully developed and functioning male and female sex organs in one person has never been known to exist, I believe ; but there are a number of cases in which rudimentary sex organs in a person have been found together with fully developed and functioning sex organs of the opposite sex. It is also well known that in a male person vestigial remains of the female sex organs can be demonstrated, as, for instance, the sinus pudicus in the male urethra, and likewise in the female there exist vestigial remains of the male sex organs, e.g. the clitoris as the homologue of the penis.

The points I intend to discuss relate more to the psychical aspect of bisexuality and the meaning and significance of masculine and feminine attitudes which I have mentioned in the definition.

Those authorities who have dealt with the question of bisexuality

appear for the most part to consider it only when discussing the question of homosexuality, and very little reference is made to it in relation to the normal sexual impulse and other aberrations of this impulse except the homosexual one. This seems to me to be a rather one-sided view of the question, for if it is admitted that bisexuality normally exists in each individual, or even only the predisposition to it, a careful consideration of its significance and manifestations in normal sexual life seems to be called for. It is true that Professor Freud, Dr. Ernest Jones and other psycho-analysts have pointed out that infantile sexuality is more bisexual in character than adult sexuality, but this seems only to refer to the infant's sexual attitude towards the object, and does not explain its deeper significance in the individual itself. And, further, are we to suppose that the infant gradually loses its bisexuality as it progresses to the adult normal sexuality, or is it retained and only manifested in the fore-pleasure as has also been suggested? If we consider that the bisexuality is lost or merges into monosexuality its presence in the infant still requires explanation. And likewise if it is retained and manifested in the fore-pleasure, this also needs explaining.

The first point that seems to me to be essential is to have some criterion by which we can differentiate male and female attitudes, or upon which we can base the concepts masculinity and femininity. And if our criterion is valid we shall then be in a position to apply it to manifestations of the sexual impulse, draw certain conclusions, and advance explanations of phenomena which in some respects have not been fully estimated and explained. The criterion by which I shall differentiate masculinity and femininity is that the man's sexual attitude is consequent upon the fact of his having and recognising a penis, and the woman's sexual attitude is consequent upon her having and recognising a vagina.

I will now proceed to develop this idea and then bring it into relationship with normal and other sexual manifestations.

In the first place, I will refer to a biological phenomenon which has, I consider, a distinct bearing on the question, namely, to the impregnation of the ovum by a spermatozoon. And, further, this phenomenon may be taken as the prototype of sexual attraction between the male and the female, sexual intercourse and sexual gratification. Without going into the precise details of the process of impregnation we can state briefly the following points about it. As a result of sexual intercourse numbers of spermatozoa are thrown into

the proximity of an ovum. The spermatozoa may be denoted as male cells or as cells containing specific male elements, therefore prototypes of masculinity, and the ovum as a female cell or cell containing specific female elements, therefore a prototype of femininity. It seems probable that the proximity of spermatozoa to an ovum or of an ovum to spermatozoa may cause certain changes to take place in each type of cell, changes that might be described as excitation consequent upon such proximity. If such excitation takes place, then, this would be a prototype of the fore-pleasure experienced in the sexual life of individuals. A spermatozoon eventually pushes its way into the ovum and fusion of the two cells takes place with cessation of excitation. This entry of the spermatozoon into the ovum may be taken as the prototype of sexual intercourse, and the fusion with cessation of excitation as the prototype of orgasm. The spermatozoon that has entered the ovum then becomes part of it, and we thus have in one cell a fusion of male and female elements. And since this impregnated ovum will eventually develop into a human being, the human being thus evolved will also contain male and female elements. The chief points of similarity, then, between impregnation and male manifestations are, stimulation by proximity of the ovum, stimulation by proximity of the woman ; activity on the part of the spermatozoon, activity on the part of the man ; entry into the ovum of a rod-like body, entry into the woman of a rod-like organ ; fusion of male and female elements, orgasm in the man, and then quiescence in both instances. On the female side, stimulation by proximity of spermatozoa, stimulation by proximity of the man ; ' passivity ' or waiting on the part of the ovum, relative ' passivity ' on the part of the woman ; opening of the ovum to receive a rod-like body, reception by the woman of a rod-like organ ; fusion of male and female elements, orgasm in the woman, and then quiescence in both instances. We can now say that stimulation of a sexual nature with increase and eventual gratification occurs in both instances, followed by release of tension. Furthermore, it may be said that the spermatozoon and ovum are complementary to each other, and that neither can obtain release of tension, gratification or that which is analogous to orgasm in and by themselves : each requires the other for attainment of this.

We will now consider the evidences of bisexuality in human beings. A person in whom the sexual impulse is stimulated strives to obtain gratification, that is to say, release of tension. The essential organ in the man which gives expression to the sexual impulse and by means

of which tension is released is the penis, and in the female the vagina. Union of these two organs can bring about gratification of the sexual impulse in the two persons. These two organs may be said to be complementary to each other. The gratification is reached when orgasm occurs, and then both organs, the penis and vagina, lose their excitability. At the same time, it has to be remembered that the gratification, besides being experienced physically, is also perceived psychically, and this is also true of the sexual impulse before gratification is obtained. When, therefore, gratification occurs, psychical as well as physical tension is released, and the complementary idea has to be extended to the psychical sphere. If, then, this complementary idea exists in the psychical sphere, it is evident that it can only be worked out in the individual himself or herself. Further, it seems to me probable that if we admit bisexuality the complementary physical side will also be found in each individual. By this I mean that the dominant organ in an individual will also have its complement in that person. In this connection I suggest that the clitoris in the female is the complementary organ to the vagina, and that possibly the sinus pudicus and ejaculatory ducts in the male may be complementary organs to the penis.

In order to support this idea of complementary sex organs existing in a person I will bring forward certain views with regard to what I would call the function of the clitoris.

In normal sexual intercourse the man introduces his penis into the vagina of the woman, and in virtue of its suspensory ligament the dorsum of the penis will impinge on the under surface of the symphysis pubis. The tissues under the symphysis are fairly lax, and as the man makes frictional movements in a forward and upward direction with his penis these tissues will be pushed further into the vagina, and the clitoris will thereby be pulled downwards and impinge upon and be stimulated by the penis. The vagina, of course, is being stimulated at the same time. I suggest that orgasm occurs when the stimulation of both the vagina and clitoris reaches its height.

The following points seem to me to confirm this idea. When I mentioned the above view at a meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society a year or so ago it was more or less opposed, and one member was very emphatic that the clitoris played no part in the production of orgasm during normal sexual intercourse. After the meeting she came up to me and said with an air of finality that orgasm for the

woman in sexual intercourse depended upon the position of the man during the act. I quite agreed with her, and told her that what she had said simply corroborated my view. If the man's position on the woman during sexual intercourse is such that the clitoris is not stimulated orgasm will not result. Many women have told me that their orgasm depends upon the man's position. A lady who could obtain orgasm quite easily with most of her lovers told me that she failed to attain it when coitus was practised *a tergo*, yet the vagina was being stimulated satisfactorily. Of course, in such a case it might be said she experienced a psychical inhibition during this method, but it did not appear to be so with her. This lady was of short stature (see below).

Many years ago, before I became acquainted with psycho-analysis, I was consulted in four cases of lack of orgasm in apparently normal women, and I treated their condition by giving the husband instruction as to his position during the act. In two of the cases complete success was obtained, and in the other two success was only partial. I might mention here, in view of what follows, that the two successful cases were short women, and the other two were just over medium height.

A few years ago Dr. Narjani, of Paris, wrote a paper on 'The Anatomical Causes of Frigidity in Women'. He believes that the clitoris is an essential factor in normal sexual intercourse. In numerous cases of frigidity, i.e. lack of orgasm, Dr. Narjani found that the clitoris was situated too high and stimulation by contact with the penis failed to take place. He found that the position of the clitoris varied in women in relation to their height. Short women were much more likely to experience orgasm than tall ones, the clitoris being situated lower in short women. He thereupon devised a small plastic operation by which the clitoris was lowered and contact with the penis thereby effected. In the majority of the cases thus treated the women were able to obtain orgasm.

Sir R. F. Burton⁴ mentions that Somali women on whom clitoridectomy is performed are of a 'cold temperament'.

These few points would seem to contradict Freud's statement⁵ that 'In the transition to womanhood very much depends upon the

⁴ *Selected Papers on Anthropology, Travel and Exploration*, London, 1924.

⁵ *Introductory Lectures*, p. 267

early and complete relegation of this sensitivity' (he refers to the especial excitability of the clitoris in girls) 'from the clitoris over to the vaginal orifice'. This view, which has been and still is generally accepted by psycho-analysts although unsupported by clinical or other data, needs further investigation, not only in the light of what I have advanced above, but principally because it is used by psycho-analysts as an established fact without sufficient evidence of its validity.

The suggestion I make that the sinus pocularis and ejaculatory ducts in the male are complementary organs to the penis is not so easy to establish as in the case of the female. Orgasm normally occurs in the man at the moment of ejaculation of semen. I would suggest that the sinus pocularis and ducts are particularly erotogenic, and when suddenly distended with semen coupled with high excitability of the penis produce the sensation which is designated orgasm. In those cases in which rhythmical and forcible expulsion of semen does not occur, but there is a simple 'flowing away' such as Abraham has mentioned, and which all psycho-analysts must have had described to them by patients suffering from forms of *ejaculatio præcox*, normal orgasm does not take place. The sudden distension of the homologue of the female sex organs after its stimulation which is brought about through the excitability of the penis appears to be a necessary factor for the production of orgasm in the male and indicates the bisexual nature of orgasm. This is analogous to what takes place in the female as I have pointed out above. The clitoris, the homologue of the penis, needs stimulation as well as the vagina in order to produce orgasm in the woman.

Sexual tension in the two complementary organs, the penis and vagina, produces different feelings and reactions in the persons concerned. Excitability of the penis produces the impulse to do something with it, to push it into something, propulsivity, activity, mastery, etc. Excitability of the vagina, on the other hand, produces the feeling to receive something in it, craving for something, receptivity, 'passivity', submission, etc. The respective dominant sex organs of the male and female produce by their excitability a contrasting set of feelings, and these sets of feelings may be said to be complementary to each other, and that therefore in some way or other they must be evidenced before complete sexual gratification can take place. The feelings produced by the sexual impulse manifesting itself through the penis or organ similar to it or by which it can be represented may be

termed masculine feelings or masculinity, and the feelings produced by the sexual impulse manifesting itself through the vagina or organ similar to it, or by which it can be represented, may be termed feminine feelings or femininity. Therefore the sexual impulse manifesting itself in or by means of rod-like organs in the human body is an essentially male expression of this impulse, and the sexual impulse manifesting itself in or by means of cavities in the human body is an essential female expression of this impulse. I have discovered that Jekels⁶ has already expressed this idea. On looking up his paper I find that though he advanced this particular view as regards the concepts masculinity and femininity, he did not develop it in the same way as I am about to do, but utilized it for certain ideas he was expressing as regards homosexuality. To continue, the organs by which masculinity is or may be manifested are primarily the penis, secondarily, any part of the body rod-like in character, such as a finger, a toe, a limb, the head, nose or tongue, the whole body itself, and also in addition in the woman the clitoris and the nipple. The organs by which femininity is or may be manifested are primarily the vagina, secondarily, the mouth, anus, nasal and aural cavities, the eyes, or any part of the body that can be formed into a cavity or pseudo-cavity, and also in the man the sinus pocularis and ducts.

I will now endeavour to bring forward evidence that tends to show that under stimulation of the sexual impulse the man, besides showing his masculinity, gives evidence of femininity, which as the complement to his masculinity is necessary before gratification of the impulse can take place. A contrasting state of affairs will also be indicated in the woman.

The phenomena I am about to discuss are easily observed, but have not, so far as I know, been explained. These phenomena have to do with the preliminary stimulation of the sexual impulse in adults of both sexes, and I will, therefore, consider each sex separately. These phenomena refer for the present to normal men and women.

Let us suppose that a man is introduced into the company of several attractive women. He finds that he is attracted to or by one of these women, that is to say, his sexual impulse is stimulated by one of them. No physical contact is supposed to take place at this stage between the two people. The first point to be noted under these

⁶ *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1913.

circumstances is a negative one, namely, that any manifestation that he is sexually stimulated does not evidence itself in his sexual organ, i.e. the penis ; neither does the impulse manifest itself in any organ or part of the body representing the penis. In other words, physical and psychical masculinity is absent. What is to be observed, however, is that the sexual impulse manifests itself at this early stage through cavities, therefore by physical and psychical femininity. The first organs to be stimulated are the eyes and the mouth. Stimulation of the eyes will be dealt with later. We will concern ourselves for the present with the oral stimulation and other manifestations. The man will say of the woman, 'She makes my mouth water', 'She is a peach', 'She is a dainty bit'. He will feel the desire to kiss her, to take her in his arms, to encircle her, to take her to himself, in other words, to incorporate her into himself. He also acts in a manner that bears an infantile character. He hovers diffidently about her, tries to ingratiate himself with her, follows her meekly about at some distance ; he is not at this stage masterful, but submissive. If he feels to be making no headway he will be inclined to be irritable and peevish. He looks longingly at her from afar. Soon, however, he may get an opportunity of coming closer to her, perhaps gaining actual contact, he sits beside her, etc., and she may also appear not indifferent to him. Then gradually, and only slightly at first, the sexual impulse begins to manifest itself in his sexual organ, masculinity begins to emerge and he becomes aggressive, and the two qualities masculinity and femininity increase together. He may now get the opportunity for a more intimate relationship, such as putting his arm round her, endeavouring to or actually kissing her, and generally making decided aggressive advances of a more ordinary sexual nature.

It seems to me that in order to arrive at an adequate explanation of the phenomena we have just mentioned, we shall have to go back a long way in the life-history of the person concerned, to the infantile period of the boy at his mother's breast. Some of the things we have learnt about this period from psycho-analysis and from the observation of children are that the child, besides gratifying its hunger at the breast, also receives erotic stimulation of its oral cavity by having the nipple in its mouth (nipple and mouth are complementary organs). that it first of all feels the nipple as part of itself, then as an external object and with it in its mouth as such, that it wishes to retain the nipple and mother, and that it does this by incorporating both into and as a part of its own personality ; further, that when sucking at

the breast it frequently stimulates other parts of its body. The incorporated mother, whom I will term the mother-imago, forms a part of the boy's and eventually the man's personality, and it is reasonable to suppose that the man will give evidence of such an incorporation; I suggest that as far as the libidinal side of his mother is concerned, which following on our previous remarks we term femininity, this is evidenced in libidinal excitation of cavities in the man. As far as there is an incorporation of the father and formation of a father-imago, the libidinal side of the father becomes associated with the man's normal masculinity. We may say, then, that when the man manifests femininity he is expressing to some extent the libidinal side of his mother-imago. When he manifests masculinity he is expressing his own particular sex with which may be associated to some extent the libidinal side of his father-imago.

Let us now return to the preliminary manifestations of the stimulated sexual impulse in the adult man, which we have suggested as expressing femininity and childishness. If we survey these manifestations in their entirety we are immediately struck by the fact of their similarity to those conditions we have just mentioned that are observable in the infant towards its mother and her breast. It seems to me that we can deduce the following explanation. The man on seeing the particular woman receives a stimulation or activation of his first love-object, his mother, i.e. his mother-imago is activated. He sees in the woman, therefore, mother or nipple, and, incidentally, penis. This seems to be supported by certain attitudes in the woman which will be mentioned later. If this is true we should expect to find his oral cavity particularly stimulated, and such is the case, as we have shown earlier. To repeat: he speaks of her in oral terms, he wants to kiss her, to encircle her (the nipple), to take her to himself, to incorporate her into himself. He is inclined to be peevish and irritable if he cannot get into intimate contact with her (the mother, her breast). We have mentioned that the infant at the breast is inclined to stimulate other parts of its body, and we can now add that these parts of its body are rod-like in character, the penis, lobe of the ear, toes, etc., and their stimulation expresses masculinity. Again we get an analogous condition in the case of the man we are considering. When the man gains intimate contact with the woman his masculinity becomes evident, he gets penile sensations with probable erection, and becomes more masterful and aggressive. It seems that stimulation of femininity in him is a precursor to stimulation of masculinity.

The two types of sexuality thus stimulated in the man increase and urge him towards gratification, and if circumstances permit this being brought about the physical gratification is obtained in the union of the two complementary organs, the penis and vagina, and the psychical gratification in the 'union' of the masculinity and the femininity. Superficial observation would seem, however, to suggest that the masculinity increases far beyond the femininity in the man the nearer he approaches to gratification. But I think this is probably more apparent than real. Attention is liable to be focussed on the masculine rather than the feminine side, since it is easier to observe, the masculinity being more localised, the penis being its chief expression. The femininity, on the other hand, is much more diffused throughout the body and therefore tends to be obscured, but evidences of its activity can generally be found on close observation, as, for instance, more passionate kissing, sucking at the nipple, perhaps anal or nasal stimulation, etc.

Let us now turn our attention to the woman under the same conditions of preliminary sexual stimulation, and observe what takes place in her. The woman finds that she is attracted to or by a particular man; her sexual impulse is stimulated. The first point to be noted in this instance is again a negative one, namely, that her stimulated sexuality does not express itself in her sexual organ, i.e. the vagina, or in any organ that can be representative of the vagina. The quality of femininity is absent. What we do observe, however, is that the sexual impulse manifests itself at this early stage through her whole body, her body becomes, as it were, a phallic representative. She expresses sexual stimulation through her whole body by actions and words. She becomes more exhibitionistic. This feature will be dealt with later. She will say of the man, 'He makes me all aglow', 'He makes me feel all excited'. She has practically no desire to kiss the man, her oral erotism is not yet stimulated. She wants, rather, to be kissed, to be received by his mouth, as it were. She wants to be taken in his arms, to be encircled by him (the penis taken into the vagina). She wants to be incorporated in him. She tends to tantalize the man, is decisive, 'active', masterful. She urges the man to activity by being active herself, she urges him to run after her, she is seductive and coy. If, however, contact with the woman is effected by the man a change in her feelings and attitudes quickly comes about. Gradually she gets sensations in her vagina, femininity begins definitely to emerge, submissiveness now takes the place of her former activity.

The femininity radiates to other organs that can represent it, such as the mouth; she is now more ready to kiss the man. Her whole attitude becomes more and more receptive. On the other hand, evidences of her masculinity still persist and increase, exhibitionism is much more marked in every way, she has pronounced clitoral sensations with perhaps erection of it (the clitoris is the homologue of the penis), and her breasts and nipples become more and more sensitive (nipple-penis). Evidences of her diffused masculinity can be observed right up to actual sexual intercourse and orgasm, for in the height of sexual excitement her whole body becomes tense and almost rigid, erect, as it were, and a remark she may sometimes make as orgasm takes place, is, for instance, 'Now let me die', suggesting flaccidity of the penis after orgasm. The eyes in the later stages of sexual excitement are more particularly affected in the woman than in the man, whereas it is the reverse in the earlier stages. These latter organs, as I have already mentioned, manifest femininity.

The explanation of these phenomena in the woman would seem to be along the lines of that given in the case of the man. The female baby at the breast receives erotic stimulation of its oral cavity. It incorporates the mother and the nipple, but in this case the nipple is perhaps of more importance than the mother, for the libidinal side of the mother-imago simply becomes associated with the femininity which is normal to the female child or woman, but the incorporated nipple is strongly emphasized as it expresses the complement to the femininity. Also the female child sucking at the breast stimulates other parts of her body which express masculinity. A little later the father-imago will be formed in the child and the libidinal side of the father will express itself as masculinity in her.

We can say that when the woman is attracted to or by a particular man the father-imago in her is stimulated and expresses itself by the phenomena of a masculine nature I have mentioned. This is followed by stimulation of her femininity when contact with the man is effected, and the two increase together, reaching their climax in orgasm.

We will now consider one or two other manifestations of the sexual impulse and see how far they fall into line with some of the ideas I have brought out above, especially as regards the two attitudes masculinity and femininity and their complementary nature. The first manifestation we will discuss is exhibitionism.

Exhibitionism in its crudest form and as seen in the perversion

bearing the same name is exposure of the sexual organs whereby the person doing this receives sexual excitement leading often to gratification of the impulse. The first thing to be noticed about exhibitionism in this form is that it is almost entirely limited to the male sex, and is practically only found in women in the psychoses. What, then, is the reason for this limitation? Why should not women desire to expose their sexual organs and carry this desire into effect? The answer to this seems to be that in this form of exhibitionism the penis is always the essential organ to be exposed, and where this organ does not exist exhibitionism of this kind cannot occur. This idea seems to be borne out in the exhibitionism of young children. Here both sexes usually take pleasure in exposing their sexual organs, but as soon as the girl discovers she is different from the boy, that is to say, is lacking a penis, she no longer exposes herself, rather, she takes scrupulous care to avoid such an exposure. This attitude persists in her throughout her life. She will expose to view nearly all other parts of her body and takes pleasure in doing this, as is evidenced by the present-day dress of women, but her sexual parts she keeps completely hidden, and it is only during great sexual excitement that she relaxes in this respect. It has to be remembered, however, that the term exhibitionism is applied to women as regards their attitude to expose so much of their body. Further, exhibitionism of this kind, that is, exposing so much of the body, is not nearly so marked in men, and may be looked upon as the feminine expression of exhibitionism which as a male expression finds its outlet in exposing the penis.

To return to the cruder exhibitionism in men. In the majority of cases the man exposes his penis before a woman or women and thereby gains sexual gratification. But there is a point here, though it seems too obvious to mention, yet to my mind has a certain significance, and this is that the woman must see the penis. The man would obtain no gratification from exposing his penis to a blind woman. It seems, therefore, that the man in exposing his penis wishes to excite the woman sexually, and endeavours to do this *via* her eyes. It is as though he recognized her eyes as complementary organs to his penis; his penis expressing masculinity, her eyes expressing femininity. We here again come upon an infantile attitude. The boy at one time took pleasure in exhibiting his penis to his mother, and his mother on seeing him do this reacted affectively. The boy therefore recognized that he had stirred something in his mother, and on account of his own feelings of pleasure in his exhibitionism would consider that like

feelings also existed in his mother. The man, then, on exhibiting his penis to the woman receives a stimulation of his mother-imago, and therefore of the femininity within him, and thus he obtains gratification by the 'union' of the two attitudes in himself.

Exhibitionism in men, I refer now to exposure of the penis and not to the form as seen in women, is not a characteristic of the sexual impulse in its preliminary manifestations, but it becomes more evident in the later stages as exposure of the penis. In women, however, exhibitionism in the form I have mentioned is a marked characteristic in the preliminary and later stages of the sexual impulse. Since exhibitionism in its ultimate meaning is an exposure of the penis, and since the woman cannot expose this organ yet is exhibitionistic, we must conclude that she is treating her whole body as a representative of the penis; this I have already pointed out. And although exhibitionism in its crude form is limited to the male sex, nevertheless we shall have to conclude that it is ordinarily a greater characteristic of women than men, and that it essentially exhibits masculinity. We see here, then, a typical male expression of the sexual impulse little evidenced in men, whereas it is a dominant feature in the sexual life of women.

If we turn now to scopophilia and its perversion the *voyeur*, we shall see that these also fit in with the views I have expressed. This perversion is found very little among women, one seldom hears of or comes across a *voyeuse*. The *voyeur* obtains sexual excitement *via* his eyes. What is it the *voyeur* wants to see? It is the sexual organs of the woman, and, above all, her penis. He is usually content and receives gratification apart from actually seeing the genitalia, for he knows consciously that on seeing them he will not see the penis, therefore, though he clings to the infantile idea of the woman with a penis, he does not want to receive disappointment in this respect, he stops short of actually seeing the genitalia themselves and satisfies himself by phantasy. The woman in this case stimulates his mother-imago and essentially the nipple which is complementary to his ocular stimulation; this latter expresses femininity, while the nipple expresses masculinity. As I have pointed out above, the man ordinarily receives sexual stimulation *via* his eyes in preliminary expressions of his sexual impulse, whereas in the woman at this stage the eyes are little affected. However, in the later stages of sexual excitement the woman's eyes are more affected than the man's. Abraham has alluded to a form of conjunctivitis that sometimes occurs in women during great sexual

excitement. The *voyeur* is expressing femininity and needs to find the complement to it—masculinity.

Sadism and masochism as sexual manifestations are complementary to each other. Sadism cannot be gratified without masochism and *vice versa*. The sadistic impulse in a man gratifies itself by union with the masochistic impulse in a woman who has stimulated the mother-imago, and therefore masochism within the man himself, so that 'union' of the two impulses takes place psychically in the man. The same idea is applicable to the woman.

This complementary feature as regards the sexual impulse seems also to be well exemplified in the marriage ceremony. The man places a plain gold ring on the finger of the woman. There seems to be no doubt that the ring symbolizes the female sexual organ and that the woman's finger is a phallic representative.

Dr. Ernest Jones,⁷ in his paper on 'Symbolism', says the man gives the woman 'a plain gold ring in return for the complete surrender to him of the object it symbolizes'. This explanation, however, seems to me to be hardly adequate, for the same idea, the symbolization of the complete surrender to him, could be obtained quite as easily and perhaps better if the woman placed a plain gold ring on the man's finger instead of the man doing this to the woman. Also Dr. Jones's explanation does not take into consideration the woman's finger.

The main idea underlying the marriage ceremony seems to be one of union—union between a man and a woman. The man takes a woman unto himself, that is to say, incorporates her, as it were, into himself, making the idea of oneness; and putting the ring on her finger symbolizes this union. The man places something that represents femininity (a ring) on a part of the woman representing a phallus (her finger). The man has once before in his life-history done the same thing, and that was when he placed his mouth over his mother's nipple. It would seem, then, at marriage the man symbolizes his infantile period. Marriage with the woman is union with the mother. The child in putting his mouth to the nipple incorporated the mother into himself, a oneness was effected. The mother surrendered her nipple (phallus, finger) to the boy (the man). Her masculinity became united with his femininity. We see, then, in the marriage ceremony a preliminary sexual manifestation in which the femininity of the man

⁷ *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Baillière, Tindall and Cox, London, 1923, p. 196.

is most in evidence, and the same thing may be said as regards the woman's masculinity.

From these few remarks on bisexuality it seems that at least in all normal sexual relationships, that is, stimulation by a person of the opposite sex, sexual intercourse and gratification, that besides the union of and gratification experienced in two complementary organs there must also be stimulation, 'union' and gratification in the psychical sphere between the two complementary attributes, namely, masculinity and femininity. And, further, we might suppose that both these attributes have to reach a certain intensity before the so-called 'union' with consequent neutralization can take place. If this is true then failure to obtain sexual gratification, or as is perhaps more common, incomplete gratification, would be due to either some fault as between the two complementary organs, or much more likely to some error in the attributes masculinity and femininity; we might suggest that one of these attributes is too strong and the other too weak, or at any rate their development *pari passu* fails for some reason or other to take place and then an incomplete gratification is likely to occur.

There are, of course, many expressions of the sexual impulse that could be brought forward as instances where the necessary complementary factors both on the physical and psychical side are apparently absent, but I feel that a careful investigation in many of these cases would shew that these factors are effective and capable of demonstration. But, on the other hand, if the views I have advanced are valid as regards the normal, then it seems to me that those cases in which bisexuality seems to be deficient will have to be investigated from this aspect, and perhaps treated with a view to developing or adjusting that part of the complementary side which is lacking.

If these ideas I have expressed, but which, as far as I know, have not been previously stated in this way, are at all acceptable to those interested in explaining the sexual impulse and phenomena connected with it, then in the future the question of bisexuality will have to be more carefully considered and brought into relationship with sexual manifestations. It seems to me that also this question of bisexuality will have to be taken into consideration when explaining the libido theory, and it may be that even cathexes will have to be differentiated by the words masculine and feminine, as, for instance, masculine or feminine libidinal cathexes.

In this paper I have only attempted to deal with one small aspect

of this subject, namely, its manifestations and explanation in normal sexual relationships, but its applicability, in other sexual spheres, such as masturbation and homosexuality will also have to be worked out. Finally, a closer study of bisexuality will, it seems to me, throw more light on the phenomena of sexual stimulation and gratification.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN VIRGINITY AND RITUAL DEFLORATION

BY

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Throughout history and in all stages of culture great emphasis has been laid on virginity. Sometimes a high positive value is set upon it as when the husband insists on his wife coming to him as a virgin, although, paradoxically, amongst certain peoples he must not have intercourse with the virgin bride, defloration and the first act of coitus being ritually performed by another. At other times virginity possesses what might be called a negative value; considerations of space will not allow this aspect to be dealt with here, but it is probably correct to say that the indifference to virginity where it is found, is more apparent than real.

Where a positive appreciation exists, at first glance the problem may seem simple; women are regarded as in some sense property and so must enter marriage undamaged, consequently the forces of sexual selection cause a woman to prize her virginity. But such a solution is quite unsatisfactory, for it overlooks two important elements: in the first place it does not explain the insistence on ritual defloration, and secondly, it ignores the fact that woman has a strong feminine attitude to virginity which is not a mere reflection of man's views upon it.

It is my aim in this article to examine as far as possible the deeper motives that underlie the attitude to virginity of both men and women. The material for this study can be gathered from three sources: current everyday life; psycho-analysis; and the field of primitive cultures.

The information derived from this last source is particularly illuminating. Like the material gathered from psychotic patients it is more direct and obvious than that drawn from the first sources. But unfortunately, instead of having the direct opinion of the natives we have only reports and interpretations from white observers. These observations are not wholly reliable, for even where they are not biassed to fit some pet theory, they are always affected by the European culture and point of view of the observer. I have tried as far as possible to sort out the facts from the theories of the anthropologist. Another source of error is that the facts are gathered from sources all

the world over, and naturally in a paper of this kind it is impossible to study the setting of each custom, to give a complete picture of the culture from which each is drawn : it is, therefore, somewhat like the interpretation of a dream without any knowledge of the patient.

We see, therefore, that we are working under fairly serious disadvantages, and should bear these conditions in mind in the use of anthropological data.

Taking first the woman's attitude to virginity, the surface motives are quite clearly expressed in two conversations I had a short time ago with a girl of my acquaintance, and perhaps it will be possible to see even something below the surface.

She is an attractive girl of twenty-four, and her sexual behaviour has been of a promiscuous nature for she has slept with many men. Slept here is not an euphonism, but is to be understood literally, for she has never had intercourse ; she enjoys all forms of forepleasure, but stops dead at any attempt at coitus. ' But why ? ' I asked her. ' With none of these men am I really in love. I am attracted to them, but none of them is my ideal man. I am looking for my ideal man, and must keep myself for him '. One day she decided not to go on playing this ' silly game waiting for my God before I can give myself '. So she arranged with a man friend to deflorate her. He did not attract her, but he would be sure to do it ' cleanly ', having a good deal of knowledge and experience. At the last moment she found herself saying the chief Jewish prayer, Shemah, which she had not uttered for many years. It is a prayer which every Jewish child is taught to say, especially as a plea for help when frightened. As she herself said, it was as if she had said ' Help me, God '. At the last moment she nearly fainted and the defloration was postponed.

This brings out the main motives which are at the root of woman's valuation of virginity : the wish to preserve it for the ideal man, for God, that is, for the Father, and the fear of losing something precious to herself. To take this second motive first, it is evident that women when they talk of defloration think a wound is left ; that they are essentially different ; ' never the same again ' is a popular phrase. There is a loss of the maidenhead which seems to be equivalent to a loss of the maiden's penis, penis and head being, of course, frequently equated. ' I must not lose my purity or my body will be spoilt ', said a patient of mine. On another occasion she saw a bottle of red ink on my table, and some interesting associations followed, first came the idea of a bloodstain on a white handkerchief, then that I had taken

blood from her. A fairly detailed phantasy followed this: 'As if you have taken my flower from my garden. I am the gardener and have kept the paths so tidy and the grass in order and put notices all over the place, "Keep off the grass". You have a right to come into the garden because it belongs to you. You don't seem to care very much, but just go straight over the grass which has never been trodden on before and pick my most precious flower. Behind the bush on which the flower grows is a rubbish heap and now it will be seen and scattered all over the garden. If you pick my flower I will never care any more to keep the garden beautiful'.

Clearly there is here more than a simple defloration phantasy, but we cannot at this point enter into the anal-sadistic elements involved. They are of great importance in relation to virginity and I shall return to them at the end of this study.

Dr. Helen Deutsch, in her lectures on 'Woman's Sexuality', brings out the connection between the first menstruation and defloration; she shows that both reanimate castration fears. As the first menstruation, so the defloration means to the woman a disappointment, not only in the sense of expected sexual pleasure, but also as a narcissistic injury. Hostile feelings and revenge tendencies are aroused against men. The first approach of menstruation stands as a punishment for the girl, a renewal of the feelings of the penis being taken away. Abraham says in this connection 'The primary idea of "wound" is reanimated by the impression created by the first and each succeeding menstruation, and then once again by defloration; for both processes are connected with loss of blood and thus resemble an injury'.¹ One would expect to find a sadistic attitude in the form of a desire for revenge as a reaction to this feeling of injury aroused by defloration, but to this I shall return later.

It is not only in the unconscious that a connection is found between menstruation and defloration: among primitive peoples this idea is very clearly expressed in belief and ritual. Thus Frazer tells us that 'among the Baganda the first menstruation is often called marriage, and the girl is spoken of as a bride . . . the girl's first menstruation results from her defloration by one of a host of aerial spirits, and . . . the wound thus inflicted is repeated afterwards every month by the same ghostly agency'.² Among some peoples this ghostly agency

¹ K. Abraham, *Selected Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 344.

² *The Golden Bough*, Vol. X, p. 24.

takes the form of a serpent which comes from within the girl at the first menstruation. Frazer says 'the Chiriguano of South Eastern Bolivia hoisted the girl in her hammock to the roof, in which she stayed for a month; in the second month the hammock was left half-way down from the roof; in the third month old women, armed with sticks, entered the hut and ran about striking everything they met, saying they were hunting the snake that had wounded the girl'.³ Crawley, in the *Mystic Rose*, brings out the idea of the serpent coming from within: 'A . . . plank carving represents a snake evidently intended to resemble the male sex organs, crawling out of the woman's vulva'.⁴ The association between menstruation and defloration finds further expression in the widespread belief that 'women, especially about the time of puberty, have communication with gods, a belief emphasized by the common practice of secluding them at that time'.⁵ 'In Cambodia it is a sacrilege to abuse a young girl who is not of an age to marry. Such girls are called the wives of Prah En (Indra). During the seclusion called "the shade", which is necessary at puberty, young girls are called the wives of Réa, and it is a sin to abuse them'.⁶ The belief that menstruation is caused by coitus with a fearful and dangerous agency, resulting in injury and bleeding, shows that there is present a sadistic conception of intercourse. This agency is dangerous not only to the girl herself but also to people with whom she comes in contact. The menstruating girl is thus taboo. Similarly the virgin who is still possessed by this hostile spirit is taboo and must therefore be ritually deflorated. Major Daly has recognised the close connection between menstruation and the taboo of virginity and explains the latter as a by-product of 'the menstruation complex'. But as his theory of the menstruation taboo is based on two hypotheses, neither of which is biologically correct, it would be too great a digression to treat it more fully here.

Thus we see that associated with the first menstruation there is the idea that a girl is married to God and therefore must not be abused. But this belief that the virgin belongs to and is married to God is to be found associated not only with the first menstruation but with virginity in general. Havelock Ellis, quoting from *Judas*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 231.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Thomas' Acts, tells us of a bride and bridegroom, who on their wedding night, had been persuaded to refrain from intercourse by a vision of Christ. In the morning they were found 'sitting one opposite the other, and the face of the bride was uncovered and the bridegroom was very cheerful'. The bride's parents asked her why she was not ashamed of sitting without a veil, and the bride answered, 'Truly, my father, I am in great love, and am praying to my Lord that I may continue in this love which I have experienced this night. I am not veiled, because the veil of corruption is taken from me, and I am not ashamed, because the deed of shame has been removed far from me, and I am cheerful and gay, and despise this deed of corruption and the joys of this wedding-feast, because I am invited to the true wedding feast. I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is bitter repentance, because I am betrothed to the true Husband'.⁷

And again the same *motif* appears in the story of the two lovers of Auvergne: 'When the wedding day came, and the young couple were placed in bed, the bride turned to the wall and wept bitterly. The bridegroom implored her to tell him what was the matter, and, turning towards him, she said that if she were to weep all her days she could never wash away all her grief for she had resolved to give her little body immaculate to Christ, untouched by men, and now instead of immortal roses she had only had on her brow faded roses, which deformed rather than adorned it, and instead of the dowry of Paradise which Christ had promised her she had become the consort of a merely mortal man'. He was overcome by her eloquence, and they lived for years chastely together. 'At length she died and was buried, her lover restoring her immaculate to the hands of Christ'.⁸

The idea of virgins being married to a God is further exemplified in the accounts of Temple virgins. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* tells us that the 'Incas of Peru, who deemed themselves children of the Sun, procured a new fire from their great father at the Solstice in June, our Midsummer Day. . . . The sacred fire . . . was deposited . . . in a great convent of holy virgins. These virgins were regarded as the wives of the Sun, and they were bound to perpetual chastity. If any of them proved unfaithful to her husband the Sun, she was burned alive, like a Roman vestal, and her paramour was strangled'.⁹

⁷ *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VI, pp. 156-157.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

⁹ Vol. II, pp. 243-244.

The idea of the virgin belonging to God is brought out even more explicitly in the following account given by Howard in his *Sex Worship*: 'From time immemorial virginity has been regarded as definitely sacred, and has universally been looked upon as belonging exclusively to the Gods. This belief was so strongly implanted in the minds of ancient Romans, that their law could not permit a virgin to be executed in the ordinary manner. No matter what the enormity of her guilt, the woman, if a virgin, could not be subjected to the penalty of death by violent hands. By reason of her virginity she was the property of the gods; she contained within her the spiritual presence of the Deity; and hence, before inflicting the last penalty, it was the duty of the executioner to remove the God from her, and for this purpose he was obliged, as a part of his office, to deflower her; after which she was strangled or burnt'.¹⁰

This motive for the preservation of virginity comes to equally full expression in those cases where a virgin is initiated into the service of the temple by a ceremony of marriage with the God, being artificially deflorated by a large phallus, which is often considered to be the God himself, as in the case of Priapus. Or again, when the priest, as representative or incarnation of the deity, performs the defloration ceremony. It is a natural extension of this that the maidens should continue to have intercourse with the priests in the service of the Gods.

Such full expression of the motives underlying the valuation of virginity can only be achieved in the case of women specially dedicated to temple service. For the majority of women the demands of reality, the necessity for children and so forth, make adherence to such strict practices impossible, and a compromise of some sort is essential. The form that the compromise took in many places was that the first intercourse only had a sacred character. Howard bears out this when he says, 'Among the ancients, however, life-long continence was not regarded as a necessary means for the sacrifice of virginity. The religious duty of women to bear children would not in those days have permitted such a custom. To them it was sufficient that the first sexual act of a woman should be given to her deity, that the act by which she gave up her divine virginity should be dedicated to the god or goddess of her religion'.¹¹ According to Frazer, 'In Cyprus it

¹⁰ P. 86.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

appears that before marriage all women were formerly obliged by custom to prostitute themselves to strangers at the sanctuary of the goddess'.¹² Also among the Amorites it was the law 'that when she was about to marry she should sit in fornication seven days by the gate'.

We have thus arrived at what appears to be a very important, if not the most important, motive for the valuation of virginity—at least from the woman's side—namely, that she wishes to preserve her virginity for God. And I think that we will have no great difficulty in seeing that God here is largely a father substitute. Freud, in his essay on 'The Taboos on Virginity,' has already suggested this when he writes, 'It is a question of sexual wishes active in childhood and never relinquished—in women generally a fixation of the libido upon the father, or upon a brother taking his place—wishes that often enough were directed to things other than coitus, or that included it among others only as a vaguely conceived aim. The husband is, so to speak, never anything but a proxy, never the right man; the first claim upon the feelings of love in a woman belongs to some one else, in typical cases to her father; a husband is, at best, a second. Now whether the husband is rejected as unsatisfying depends upon the strength of this fixation and the tenacity with which it is upheld. . . . Primitive customs appear to accord some recognition to the existence of the early sexual wish by assigning the duty of defloration to an elder, a priest or a holy man, that is, to a father substitute'.¹³

So far only the woman's attitude and the way it finds expression in custom and ritual have been considered. We have seen how the desire for this preservation of virginity for God is expressed in the virgin's dedication to God; how the underlying infantile incestuous wish is fulfilled by the temple maiden's intercourse with father substitutes, the priests; we have also seen how where such complete expression is impossible it comes to expression in the dedication of the first intercourse to the God or his temple. Perhaps a further consideration of this compromise will enlarge our view. Can we consider the explanation of this custom so far put forward completely satisfactory or is there something more expressed in it? Can we believe that fulfilment of the wish on one occasion satisfies it once and for all, or if the husband is also a father substitute, why is there this special need to have another substitute on this one occasion?

¹² *The Golden Bough*, Vol. V, p. 36.

¹³ Freud, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 229.

It would seem that the girl not only has the wish to have intercourse with the father and therefore primitive society recognizes this by allowing the father to have the first intercourse with her; but further that she feels she belongs to the father and only an initiation into intercourse by him can allow her to belong to another. Unless she is initiated in this way some harm will befall her, for intercourse is always associated with incest and the guilt feelings attached thereto, and so requires to be formally sanctioned in some way before it may be indulged in. This is well illustrated by a statement made by a patient: 'I wish marriage could be just between me and Billy with God there instead of the priest, then I would know that God thought marriage was right'. In intercourse with another, there seems also to be some feeling of depriving the father and consequently a fear of incurring his revenge unless his permission is first obtained.

Much of this argument has been based on customs and rites, which, it must be remembered, are not decreed by women, but grow out of the life of the people. They therefore form an expression of the attitudes of both women and men. This being so, before the thesis here put forward can be accepted or, in fact, further developed, we must examine the matter from the man's side. Freud, in the essay already quoted, says, when considering the sources of the man's attitude: 'One may sum up and say that it is the immature sexuality of the woman which discharges itself upon the man who first introduces her to sexual intercourse; with this the taboo of virginity becomes intelligible enough, and we understand a regulation which enjoins avoidance of these dangers on the very man who is entering upon life in company with this woman'.¹⁴ And he takes this attitude on the part of woman as the basis of the man's fear of performing the act of defloration. With regard to this he says that the act of defloration 'liberates an archaic reaction of enmity towards the man, which may assume pathological forms, and often enough expresses itself by inhibitions in the erotic life of the pair, and to which one may ascribe the fact that second marriages so often turn out so much better than the first. The strange taboo of virginity, the fear which among primitive peoples induces the husband to avoid the performance of defloration finds its full justification in this hostile turn of feeling'.¹⁵

Among primitive peoples, however, the taboo in question is not

¹⁴ Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

a taboo merely on defloration, but on defloration and the first intercourse. This is a point Freud has recognized in his essay, but he does not introduce it in the explanation just quoted. What then does the husband gain from this double taboo? Two facts become apparent; firstly, that he avoids associating the shedding of blood and the difficulties of the first intercourse with his relations to his wife, and secondly, that he avoids the necessity of ever having intercourse with a virgin.

This raises what is perhaps the most important question: Why is intercourse with a virgin considered dangerous? We must seek for the answer to this in the man's internal realities rather than look for actual external dangers, though naturally we must not overlook these. Psycho-analysis has taught us in dealing with the psycho-neuroses to look for the cause not in an actual trauma but in the feelings of trauma: we do not seek for an avenging mother in the home, we recognize the stern super-ego of the child and ask for what the punishment is demanded and why the feeling of guilt. And it is clearly this same point of view that we must adopt in studying the psychological causes of customs and taboos.

Let us then examine the matter in this light, and ask why the husband wishes to avoid the act of defloration.

An obsessional patient of mine said, 'I only want intercourse with some one who is not a virgin; defloration associated with blood would make me feel guilty'. Primitive peoples likewise have a superstitious dread of shedding blood; and by the language used there would seem to be the same association of this dread with a fear of castration among them as we find in the neurotic.

One of the main sources of the repulsion felt by homosexual men towards sexual relations with women is that their castration anxiety is revived by the absence of a penis in women. Actual defloration will tend to evoke these feelings to a much greater extent and so it is readily intelligible that it will be avoided even by heterosexual men. As in women so in men the fear of defloration is associated with the fear of a narcissistic injury, with the difference that in women there is always an actual injury as a basis. Therefore defloration faces a man with the perpetration of a sadistic injury on the woman, equivalent to castration, arousing his own guilt feelings and therefore his own castration anxiety.

How then is man going to escape these guilt feelings and this fear of castration? That initiation rites offer one means seems to be

apparent in much of the information we have about them. Frazer puts forward the idea that totemic initiation ceremonies, coming as they do at puberty, are for the purpose of depositing the soul in the safe-keeping of an animal. According to him the dangers feared are those entailed in the sexual relation.¹⁶ The exact nature of the danger apprehended is still obscure, he says; psycho-analysts, however, can with some confidence supply the answer that castration is the basic danger feared.

This castration anxiety is aroused not merely by defloration, that is by the shedding of blood; there is also another very powerful incentive. As we have seen it is not only defloration which has to be avoided but also the first intercourse with a virgin, that is with a woman who belongs to a god or spirit or other father-substitute. The anxiety is thus further enhanced by this situation which revives the old situation of the child to its parents: the wish to take the mother away from the father, and the fear of the father's revenge. Freud, in discussing modern instances of the taboo of virginity, adds a footnote: 'A masterly short story of Arthur Schnitzler's (*Das Schicksal des Freiherrn von Leisenbogh*) deserves to be mentioned in this connection, in spite of a departure in it from the situation under discussion. The lover of an actress who had had great experience in love is dying as the result of an accident; and he creates a new virginity for her, as it were, by uttering a curse of death upon the next man to possess her after him. For a time the woman who is thus placed under a taboo does not venture to have intercourse with any one. Then she falls in love with a singer, and resorts to the plan of first granting a night with her to Freiherr von Leisenbogh, who has for years tried in vain to win her. And the curse fulfils itself on him; he dies of a stroke on hearing the reason of his unexpected good fortune'.¹⁷ Here this second source of anxiety is clearly apparent, but Freud, though illustrating it, has not worked out this side of the question more fully.

The appreciation of the effect of this repetitive aspect of the situation gives us greater insight into the mode of escaping the guilt feelings which we have already mentioned, namely initiation. The essence of initiation is that it is a permission by the father to do the forbidden thing. In his *Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*, Professor Flügel, speaking

¹⁶ *The Golden Bough*, Vol. XI, pp. 220 et seq.

¹⁷ Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

of the significance of initiation, says: 'A boy may dream of initiation at the hands of his father, because this signifies to him a removal of the prohibition imposed by his father on all sexual activity on the part of the boy—a prohibition imposed in virtue of the boy's original direction of his love towards his mother: without such sign of approval and change of attitude on the father's part, the boy may feel that the original prohibition is still too powerful to overcome and that his sexual life will remain for ever under the ban of the strong inhibition aroused by a sense of parental disapproval'. Professor Flügel illustrates this by a dream of a patient of his: 'I was trying to catch a train, but a gate leading to the platform was closed and I could not succeed in opening it. Then my father suddenly appeared, shook the gate violently, opened it and hurried me across the platform. He opened the door of a compartment and pushed me in. I found a lady sitting there'.¹⁸ The lady here was associated with the mother and the opening of the gate and door symbolized the sexual act.

Among primitive peoples this initiation into sexual life is achieved in reality: the father-substitute initiates the man and gives him permission to perform an act tinged with the infantile incestuous motive by first himself having intercourse with the virgin bride.

Thus we see that the fear of castration which tends to be evoked by the association or resemblance of defloration to castration is fully re-animated in the situation which, by arousing the incestuous trends, gives full justification for the man to fear punitive castration by the father. It is this which would seem to give real force to the castration fear and which accounts for the guilt feelings. It is also this fact which explains why the taboo on defloration and the taboo against intercourse with a virgin, that is the first intercourse, are necessarily linked.

That this conclusion is not unfounded nor far-fetched may be seen by a consideration of savage marriage customs. We will see that danger is apprehended in marriage; in the nature of the danger feared and in the means taken to guard against it, we can see this unconscious motivation at work in a more or less thinly disguised state. Peculiar native marriage customs have always attracted the traveller's attention; we might take our first instance from Sir John Mandeville who describes the practice of certain peoples of the East Indies of having their young girls deflorated before marriage by a professional person.

¹⁸ J. C. Flügel, *Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*, p. 80.

He states that they explain this custom by the fact that in former times 'men hadden bene dede for defloration of maidens, that hadden serpents in hire bodyes, that stongen men upon hire zerdes that thei dye den anon'. That is the maiden was believed to have a serpent in her body, which stung the man upon his penis so that he died after deflowering her. This shows ideas very similar to Mrs. Klein's findings that the fear of intercourse with the mother is derived from the belief that the father's penis is already in the vagina and acts as a punishing and revenging instrument, for actually in the place desired is the revenging instrument. Thus the mother attains fearful proportions in virtue of being a combined parental figure.

That marriage is dangerous to both bride and bridegroom appears over and over again in accounts of marriage ceremonies. Sometimes guns are fired or arrows are shot to protect the bridal pair from evil spirits; the bride and bridegroom wear protective weapons; or sometimes other people dress up as bride and bridegroom to divert the danger from the true pair and the bride and bridegroom disguise themselves. At other times there is a mock marriage between trees or animals or effigies, so that the evil spirits may vent their wrath on these. The bride frequently has to be veiled, she may not touch the ground and is often carried in a cage; and similar rules are observed by the bridegroom. These measures serve both as a protection to the bridal pair and as a protection to other people who might be harmed by contact with the tabooed and therefore dangerous pair. A relic of this custom is found in the red carpet and awning at our weddings. 'The functions of the bridesmaids, bridesmen and groomsmen', says Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage*, 'have been not only to attend upon the bride and bridegroom but to protect them from evil influences'.¹⁹ And further because of the danger there is sometimes a form of initiation on lines parallel to ritual defloration. Thus Westermarck tells us that 'among the Iyca Indians of Colombia the man who accompanied the pair to the hut in which marriage is to be consummated says to the bridegroom, "Take the woman"; and then enforces his command by beating him with a small whip'.²⁰ Among yet other people it is the father himself who initiates: the whip often figures in these ceremonies.

In many places custom enforces upon the father behaviour which

¹⁹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, Vol. II, p. 526.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 517.

can be considered as being mainly a conventionalized expression of jealousy. In illustration of this we can quote from d'Arvieux *Travels in Arabia the Desart*: 'All the relations assist at the wedding except the bride's father who leaves the house that evening out of an odd piece of niceness that will not suffer him to be at home whilst they are putting his daughter to bed with a man'.²¹ Again Westermarck tells us that, 'when a Singhalese gave his daughter in marriage he first slept with her himself on the plea of having a right to the first fruit of the tree he had planted'. Yet Westermarck rejects any idea of incest saying 'it is difficult, however, to believe that the custom in question really represents a right claimed by the father. His intercourse with the daughter more probably serves the object of making her acceptable to her husband'.²² How it does so I have tried to show. And even with us the clergyman frequently kisses the bride first after the wedding ceremony.

Where there is no initiation or ritual defloration continence is often observed for some nights after the wedding. Throughout primitive cultures there is an idea that hostile powers can be disarmed by chastity. According to Westermarck, 'among the Indians of Canelos the young couple do not spend the first night after the nuptial feast together because they believe that if they did the husband would die. The Supai, a most dangerous demon, claims the right to spend that night with the bride; and the right is voluntarily ceded to him by the husband'.²³

It is seldom that we can apply in sociology or psychology those tests which are possible and customary in the physical sciences, for it is but rarely that we can create or find the conditions postulated in our hypothesis and then see if the predicted result follows. It is then particularly gratifying to be able to do something of this nature in this case. I have suggested that underlying the taboo on virginity and the custom of a ritual or initiatory defloration and intercourse by one other than the husband is the idea that the virgin belongs to some one else, in some cases avowedly to God, but in all, in the unconscious to the father, and that he will revenge himself unless precautions are taken. Our test then will be the woman who does actually belong to some one else, that is the widow. We have already seen in the indi-

²¹ P. 325.

²² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 188.

²³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 563.

vidual case I quoted above from Freud how a second virginity can be created for a widow by means of a threat of punishment on the man who transgresses. Let us now see what happens among savages on the remarriage of widows. We find that there is the same fear of the first intercourse with the widow as has been seen to exist in regard to the virgin ; in fact many of the rites and ceremonies are identical. Westermarck says that ' among the Kamchadal nobody would marry a widow before an outsider had had sexual intercourse with her, which was called " removing the sin from her," since otherwise it was thought that the new husband would also die. As Dr. Jochelson remarks, she was thereby evidently freed from the old union, and her new husband could take her to his own family hearth without incurring vengeance on the part of her first husband's spirit. . . . So also among the Akamba, east of the Victoria Nyanza, " in the event of a widow not going to her brother-in-law, but to a stranger, she must first go through a ritual coitus with another elderly man, otherwise her prospective husband's earlier wives will become barren, or her children will die " .'²⁴ The husband sometimes takes steps to avoid the danger which menaces him also ; Roscoe reports that among the Baganda ' when a man wished to marry a widow, he first paid the deceased husband a bark-cloth and a fowl, which he put into the little shrine at the grave ; in this way he imagined he could pacify the ghost ' .²⁵ And from Westermarck we learn that ' among the Gonds in some parts of Bastar a widow whose husband has been killed by a tiger is formally married not to her new husband, but either to a dog or to a lance, axe, or sword, because they believe that the ghost of the deceased has entered into the tiger and in that form will seek to devour the man who marries his widow, but now will carry off the dog or perish by the weapon ' .²⁶

The sacrifice of virgins has always been thought to be an especially efficacious means of propitiating good or evil spirits. . On similar lines among many peoples widows are killed so that their husbands may enjoy them in heaven. In fact a widow who did not allow herself to be killed was regarded as an adulteress, and in Pentecost the women were by no means pleased at the alleviation of the custom due to European influence, for they feared that they might be haunted by the offended spirits of their husbands. Even the prizing of virginity

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 327-328.

²⁵ *The Baganda*, p. 97.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 525.

is paralleled by the widow ; we are told that 'among the Nsakara north of the Mubangi, where the marriage tie is very loose and married women are most unchaste, chastity is expected of the widow—and even of the daughters and sisters—of dead chiefs of importance ; and they have to spend their lives maintaining a perpetual fire on the dwelling-tomb of the deceased potentate '.²⁷ Continence is also enjoined for a varying period after marriage with a widow.

Thus not only does the result that might be expected actually follow, but also in this case the accepted explanation is that the previous possessor's—the former husband's—vengeance is to be feared and therefore he must be placated or his anger deflected.

There is one other matter in regard to virginity which it may be interesting to notice and which would seem to corroborate the thesis here put forward : it is the attitude to rape. The rape of virgins, that is to say intercourse by violence, seems an especially dreadful thing to the mind of the primitive and in fact to the mind of the people to this very day ; among primitive peoples both the perpetrator and the girl were often punished by death. This attitude seems to have very little to do with any theoretical idea of woman's freedom of choice, for rape is severely punished by the very tribes who practise infant marriage, that is to say where the woman has no freedom of choice. The difference between rape and infant marriage would seem to be that in the latter the father's consent has been obtained whereas in the former it is disregarded. Rape would thus appear to be an example par excellence of robbery of the father ; hence the extreme condemnation of it. Doubtless the factor of the girl's consent also plays a part in determining the attitude to rape, in fact woman's reaction to rape is intense and great feelings of revenge are aroused by it.

The same revenge feelings, though to a less intense degree, are aroused also by the taking of virginity. The woman feels she has been violated ; and this objection to violation undoubtedly plays its part in woman's valuation of virginity. As Havelock Ellis says in speaking of virginity, ' Its charm is represented as lying in its own joy and freedom and the security it involves from all troubles—it is in a large measure a revolt against men and marriage '. The girl, quoted at the beginning of this paper, once said when talking of a man from whom she has withheld herself, ' keeping men off and keeping myself a virgin makes them feel unmanly, emasculates them '. And a patient of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 320.

mine, speaking about keeping her virginity and not letting herself be touched by her fiancé, expressed herself in a similar manner: 'I felt as if I was gradually killing him by withholding from him something his body wants'. (This is, of course, obviously connected with oral withholding.) This attitude in an exaggerated form appears in homosexuality—an entire refusal of the male.

This raises a problem in the motivation of the taboo of virginity and the custom of ritual defloration, and introduces some psychological questions which deserve very careful consideration. Freud in his essay would seem to consider the avoidance of the woman's revenge feelings as the main source of these customs, and undoubtedly it is a motive which cannot be excluded. There are, however, certain facts which seem to raise a doubt as to its being the weightiest motive. Freud bases his opinion on the idea that ritual defloration deflects the woman's revenge feelings on to some one other than the husband, who is thus free from them. But if this is so we should hardly expect to find as we did the same fear of and practices in regard to intercourse with a widow, whose revenge is surely no longer to be feared. A more important question is whether this process is borne out by psychoanalytic findings. If the feeling of revenge is so strong in connection with the first intercourse, which signifies castration, would the unconscious be so reasonable as to dissociate the first from all succeeding intercourse, and so leave subsequent intercourse with the husband free from the feelings of castration? Do not the laws of association of ideas and continuity in the unconscious suggest rather that in so far as the first intercourse is a trauma, the feeling of trauma and with it revenge will be carried on to the next intercourse with whomever it be? And if the act of defloration 'liberates an archaic reaction of enmity towards the man', can we assume that this reaction exhausts itself at once? Does not analysis lead us to believe that it works on in the individual, expressing itself constantly throughout life?

An attempt has here been made to explain those ideas of virginity which come to expression in the custom of ritual defloration, but this subject can hardly be left without some reference to the ideas of virginity current in our own civilization. The main feature of these is the insistence on the bride's being a virgin and the husband himself performing the act of defloration and first intercourse. As this study has been almost entirely concerned with the other aspect of the question, there is space only for a few suggestions in regard to this phase. It would seem, perhaps, that the husband in insisting on virginity in

his bride is seeking reassurance of his wish that she should not have belonged to his father ; that he is trying, in fact, to possess her himself in the past as in the future. There remain, however, the apparently irreconcilable facts that although he may be reassured that she has belonged to no other by the physical fact of her virginity, yet to perform the first intercourse with a virgin, that is, with one who, emotionally considered, belongs to another, he must be able to bear the anxiety involved in this act. But if the modern European can sustain this anxiety without the aid of external measures, we may assume, with some confidence, that either he is more capable of bearing anxiety than the primitive or that in some way the intensity of the anxiety has been reduced or, of course, that a combination of the two processes is at work. Perhaps the most acceptable explanation of the difference between the primitive and the modern lies in this combination, with as the main element the ability to tolerate anxiety.

Because his ego is less developed or for some other reason, primitive man is less able to tolerate instinct tension, and it seems that sadism is correspondingly increased as a reaction to the feeling of deprivation, as Dr. Jones has so clearly shown in his paper on 'Anxiety, Guilt and Hate'.²⁸ There would thus be a tendency for intercourse to be conceived only in terms of anal-sadism and so it would become doubly dangerous, for the death wishes against the father being increased, the fear of his vengeance is so much the greater, and there is also the fear of the bride's revenge, since intercourse is considered to inflict injury. In this connection I may refer to the example, given above, of the patient who said, 'I only want intercourse with some one who is not a virgin ; defloration associated with blood would make me feel guilty'. In this case intercourse could be had in phantasy only with a special type of woman, one so robust as to be able to bear with impunity his assault of her. His conception of intercourse necessarily involved the injuring of the love object and was correlated with a fear of the consequences of the act. Defloration, resulting actually in injury and loss of blood, stimulates the latent sadism and with it the dread of castration and death, even more powerfully than intercourse associated only with phantastic injury. Hence among primitive peoples and neurotics, where we find the virgin tabooed, we may fairly conclude that there is considerable development of anal-sadism. In present-day European culture there seems a somewhat greater ability to conceive of inter-

²⁸ INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. X, Pt. IV.

course in genital terms; anxiety is so far reduced as to allow the infantile wish for the sole possession of the mother to come to expression in the demand for a virgin bride, and is so much better tolerated as to permit the husband to carry out the act of defloration and first intercourse, with no more external support than is given by the marriage service.

ON THE PHYSIOLOGY OF HYSTERICAL APHONIA AND MUTISM

BY

E. PEREPEL

LENINGRAD

The hysterical aphonia was for the first time submitted to psycho-analytical study in one of Freud's classical works, published in 1905, and the phenomenology of the psychogenous disorder of speech occupied since then a rather prominent place in the casuistic of a psycho-analytical clinic. We shall try, in the present article, to complete this casuistic by our own material, being the analysis of a case of most tenacious aphonia, that lasted with interruptions, nearly ten years. The certain originality of our attempt is that besides the usual psychological analysis, we shall study the pathology of case by means of the physiological analysis in the manner of the schools of Pawloff and Ukhtomsky. This endeavour will be based on our previous works,¹ to which the interested are referred.

The preliminary informations, concerning the history of the illness, are as follows :

Mrs. NN., aged 29, applied to me in June 1925, complaining of a periodical disappearance of the voice, that lasted for several years and was always accompanied by a difficult, whispering speech. The laryngologist's diagnosis, produced by the patient, ascertained a weakening of the laryngeal musculature with no objective signs whatever of any derangement of the vocal apparatus.

The primary interrogation made clear, that the patient fell ill for the first time in 1915, after a quite, as it first seems, insignificant shock. She had a quarrel with the manager of the asylum, where she was employed and, on the morning immediately following the dispute, she became completely dumb. The dumbness lasted for nearly a month and then it ceased. In the following years the patient passed through several neuralgias, sexual anæsthesia, premature child-birth, stubborn hiccup, fits of drowsiness, reiterated wishes to go to stool, heart neurosis and so forth, till at last, for the first time in 1923, she lost her voice and began to speak with the characteristic whispering sound. Since then the attacks of aphonia appeared regularly and lasted, every time, from three months to two days,

¹ E. Perepel, *The Psycho-Analysis and the Physiological School. Freudism and its Academical Opposition.* (Russian.)

with intervals also from 2-3 months to one day. The patient tried rather hardly to cure this torturing aphonia, but, unfortunately with no effect.

The further inquiry ascertained that the patient was nervous from her childhood. Aged seven she had the paresis of the feet, at eight she ailed from chorea, at thirteen her feet were completely paralysed, at fifteen she suffered from anorexia, at seventeen from neuralgia of the cervical muscles, short-timed blindness, etc.

The subsequently undertaken analysis, overcoming the stubborn shyness and reserve of the patient, helped to ascertain that the whole pathology of the case, including the aphonia and mutism, that does interest us particularly, was grounded on the patient's autoerotal fixation on the anal erotic and on the objective (object's) fixation on her father. Aged three or four the patient lost her mother and was subsequently brought up by her father who treated her with an unusual care and love. But during her mother's life she witnessed a sexual scene between her and her lover, who, on seeing that the girl noticed everything, threatened her and bade her to be silent. Her relation to her father acquired therefore the character of a yearning towards a definite sexual purpose. Frequently getting in her father's bed, the girl liked to cling to him and to feel the contact of his genitalia. She found also a pleasure in spying on him during defecation and not only watched the process of evacuation, but looked on his genital parts. And because defecation, by itself, caused her pleasure, she was able to unite in this spying the love to her father with the autoerotal satisfaction; a circumstance that was afterwards reflected in the symptomatology.

But simultaneously with such sexual displays were growing the opposite forces of character: the forces of shame, disgust and morality, supported by religion. The sexual purpose relatively to the father was to fall off and could be compensated, only to a certain point, by the identification of herself to him, by her imaginary reincarnation in his idealized image. The desire to possess the father gave place to the wish to imitate him and to possess his genitalia, wholly rejecting at the same time all the filthy and the sexual that was foreign to his pure, exalted image. As a medium of these two impulses, the desire of possession was sublimated in tenderness, the wish to own the genitalia—in virility, and all the low was thus rejected and the illicit desires were definitively subjugated by the ideal morality that had once suppressed the anal erotic.

But at a certain moment even the sublimated tender feelings to the father also met with obstacles. The first shock of disenchantment was received by the patient when the father took her to town to learn and, deceiving the girl, left her at a stranger's house, returning himself home. The second shock struck her after several years, when she knew that the father had married again. From the first meeting she detested her step-mother, but was subsequently compelled to make her best of the situation and to submit to the new mother, who held her husband tight in her hands. Submitting and protesting against submission the girl loved and hated her father at the same time, hating him for his deceit and faithlessness but simultaneously sympathizing with him because of his miserable position. She revolted against the domination of her step-mother, hated her and was jealous of her, seeking revenge for her humiliation, but at the same time she loved her as a homosexual object belonging to her father. Putting herself in her father's place in general she did it also in particular, relatively to the step-mother, but, loving and caressing her in her mind, as her father did, she continued to hate her and hated her the more, the stronger was her love. Being rent by such contradictory feelings to the father and the step-mother, the girl, of course, tried, as far as it was possible for her, to suppress and to expel them, because for their criminality, that she perceived from time to time, made her shudder. These feelings were ultimately suppressed and did not come to light, but the external relations to the father and mother, expressing them, were thus fixed and formed the dominating mood of the patient's relation to her surroundings in general. And with this sort of relation she started in life.

In 1915 the patient took an employment in an asylum, where she grew familiar with one of the teachers and with the manager of the asylum. The teacher was married and considerably her elder; as an object he was inaccessible and the patient had to suppress her feeling to him. The manager, a stern, authoritative lady, treated the patient rather nicely but was equally inaccessible, though strongly attracting her. The both objects served, thus as a substitute of the childish objects and the relations to them were reproducing the situation of childhood. The faintest shock could unite the both situations in her mind, in one. Getting erotically excited, the patient did not compensate herself by onanism, to which she had recourse only later, but by means of the anal erotic, reproduced because of the necessarily arisen regression and giving pleasure again. The old connection between

the amorous fixation on her father and the autoerotal satisfaction by means of defecation was restored but could not come to unhindered existence because of the ethical obstacles. The morality of the idealized father was watching her every step and transferred on this compensatory satisfaction the same disapproval that was inevitably suscitated by the whole reproduced situation in general. And such an averting wake became still stronger because of the traces of supressing, to which the anal erotic was once submitted during childhood. And the compensatory anal satisfaction was therefore on a hair-breadth from expulsion, till at last, the dispute with the manager provoked an impetuous outburst of protest against the whole reproduced situation of childhood the ideal of which was always exciting the patient's protest although she was incessantly aiming at it. This process was naturally directed against the most aggressive element of the situation, i.e. the anal erotic. Its desires were instantly supressed and on the following morning, as it was said, the patient became dumb.

The mechanism of the affection was here such :

According to the laws of supressing, the sphere of supression encompasses everything that reminds, in some way or other, of the supressed desire. The supressing forces shew in this case an incomparable perceptivity and amplitude of associations. In our case it was the elocutionary function that came in the sphere of supressing, as it was connected with the anal erotic by these movements of the abdominal press that equally secure the process of defecation as well as the process of voice-forming. The mechanism of symptomogenesis was, in this circumstance, so constructed, that the established connection attracted firstly on the elocutionary process all the retarded excitation of the anal-erotal desires. Subsequently, such an erotization of the elocutionary function, led, in its turn, to the abandonment of speech as a compensatory satisfaction of anal erotic, in as much as the pressure of the supressing forces was inevitably transferred on speech. The denial of erotic became thus the denial of speech and, as a result of it, came mutism.

The picture sketched was, of course, only the fundamental, but by no means, the sole motive of the symptomocomplex).² The other motives we shall however not mention, and we shall also not dwell on the several symptoms that succeeded, in their time, to the mutism.

² A certain part in it belongs, by the way, to the order of her mother's lover to be silent.

We can be interested, in connection with this mutism, only with the aphonia that came, eight years later, in the form of periodical attacks of difficult whispering speech. We shall, then, consecrate to it a few lines.

The imperfection of mutism as a neurotic symptomocomplex, consisted in its absolute forbidding of any satisfaction, for the mutism itself was dependent on the exclusion of the solely possible compensatory satisfaction of the anal-erotic desires. The aphonia succeeding to it had, in this respect, an indubitable advantage, being able to reconcile the both inimical tendencies of the neurosis: the hypersexual and the hyper-ethical. It could, at the same time, personify the satisfaction of the anal-erotic, as well as the denial of it, and became thus a more universal and more stable pathological form than mutism.

Historically, the picture of the forming of symptoms was formed thus that the new pair of objects restored for the patient the situation of her childhood by restoring, in her relations to them, the former specific relations to the first two objects. The outburst of forbidden objective (object's) desires created a new wave of repressing, and the anal erotic, vivified by regression, came again in the foreground. The repeated suppressing of its desires transferred their energy, by means of the old associative connections, on the same elocutionary functions, and its restraining impulses, coinciding with the averting ethical tendencies, found, for this time, undisturbedly their way to discharge. The patient began to squeeze out the sounds quite in the same manner as she was once squeezing out the excrements and this retention of the elocutionary function, having the external aspect of aphonic whispering speech simultaneously united the satisfaction of the anal-erotic and the punishment it deserved. The dynamic of the pathological associative connections was the cause of the facility of the temporary restoration of normal relations, as well as of the repeated breaking of them at every trifling allusion to the situation of childhood. And the resulting aphonia, that appeared and disappeared periodically, was torturing the patient for three years, until an analytical treatment released her of her infirmity.

And now we have to study the picture of the pathogenesis and the forming of the symptoms from the point of view of the physiological theory of behaviour. This attempt to a physiological analysis will, quite naturally, compell us to simplify the relation brought to light by the psychological study, but we shall still, as far as possible, strictly hold to the pathology of the gathered material.

The neurotic pathology of behaviour, considered from the point of view of physiology, is always nothing more than the product of pathological conditionally reflexes, pathological conditionally instigators and hinderers. On the basis of the law of the conditionally reflectoral connections of traces various unsound superstructures are possible, having the form of distortion of the normal balance of excitation and hindering. The indifferent functions and the phenomena of the vital activity become, thanks to it, the bearers of an excitement or a hindrance completely foreign to them, and thus create the pathology of behaviour that breaks the connections with the surroundings and is characterized as a neurosis.

Just such a derangement of the balance and a conditionally reflectoral transferring of the hindering on an indifferent function is the cause of the pathology of the discussed case. The dominant of anal erotical discharge, created by the focus of negative excitation, hindering the process of defecation, had once met with the resistance of a dominant incompatible to it, that developed under the influence of the pain's training action, within the limits of the pain's centres and attracted its energy on itself. The struggle of the dominants ended by the victory of the last, hindering dominant and this was the easier reached because the sexual excitation was transferred on other forms of discharge, on the form of the objective (object's) erotical discharge in particular. The subdominant thus formed was, in the course of time, wholly extinguished and continued to exist in the centre only as the remains of an extinguished hearth.

But the objective (object's) erotical discharge was also under the pressure of the hindering dominant, the hyper-excited state of which was all the time, the grown up period included, retarding the reactions, that formed the discharge. At a certain moment these reactions were completely stopped and the energy of the objective (object's) erotical discharge had to find some other points of apposition. Having lost the possibility of a discharge on the periphery, the excitation of the retarded dominant had to irradiate on the surface of the centre and to vivify the remains of the extinguished focus of the subdominant of anal erotical discharge. All the sexual energy was therefore transferred on the restored focus and began to display itself without by the reactions of this anal-erotical discharge. But the forces of reaction still met with the resistance of the hindering dominant that held, relatively to the subdominant, the same position of incompatibility. They were again retarded and the connections of their traces in the

abducting zone of the centre with the subdominant were disjoined. The pressure of the hindering dominant did, however, not cease, and all the immediate connections joining the subdominant to the whole lot of the traces of the individual experience, were ultimately broken, and the subdominant was thus brought to a state of functional isolation.

But its activity did, however, not completely cease, and the excitation, gradually accumulating within its limits, sought to discharge. The solution of the direct tracts intensified the excitability of the indirect ones, and the discharge could only take place by transferring the energy on some such indirect way. The contact was established between the subdominant and the traces of the elocutionary reactions dependent on the same movements of the abdominal press, that excited the retarded reactions of anal-erotic discharge. The way of the connecting passed from the subdominant through the substratum of the traces of the muscle's movement to the centre of elocutionary reaction and thus took place the transferring of the energy of the anal-erotic discharge on the function of speech. The elocutionary activity just began to compensate the discharging effect of the anal-erotic reactions, but the sexual excitation of the whole sound-moving tract again proved to be incompatible with the retarding dominant and the newly arisen compensatory discharge was therefore also submitted to retardation. The motive centre of speech, sending impulse on the periphery, was isolated from its peripheral apparatus; the function of speech was thus excluded and appeared mutism.

But after some time the pressure of the hindering dominant became a little weaker, the broken connections were restored, the sexual energy retreated to the focus of the objective erotic discharge and its reactions resumed their former activity. The elocutionary function was then also liberated from an alien excitation and assumed a normal character. But it subsisted only till a new increase of the hindering dominant's activity that came some years after, and the once firmly fixed picture of the affection of the function was still the same. The focus of the objective (object's) erotic discharge was retarded, its excitement was irradiated and had vivified the remains of the extinguished subdominant of the anal-erotic discharge. Further, the immediate connections of the subdominant with the central substratum of the discharging reactions were disjoined, and the accessory contact arisen transferred the energy on the substratum

of the elocutionary reactions. The sound-moving tract again assumed the alien excitement together with the task of discharging, and for this time, began actually to effectuate this task. The pressure of the hindering dominant combined with the negative excitation of the reactions of the anal-erotic defecational discharge and, according to the principles of the parallelogram, it gave a resultant in the form of the retarded sound-moving reactions. The elocutionary function assumed thus the character of a conditional hindrance and, adopting the combined hindering effect of the both incompatible focuses it began to play the part of a compensatory discharge having the exterior aspect of aphonia.

The peculiarity of this aphonia, compared to mutism, was that the breaking of the contact causing it was far more mobile and the contacts could be easily restored. But they were also easily broken again, and therefore the pathological compensatory discharge was, on the whole, very stable. And only the treatment that softened the hyper-excited character of the hindering dominant and succeeded to remove the incompatibility, could definitively restore the broken connections and thus made the pathological discharging reactions unnecessary. The independent, spontaneous way to such a cure was however utterly impossible, for the functionally isolation of the subdominant made it inaccessible to differentiation and the own will of the patient could not act upon it.

We must close here the physiological analysis of our case, willingly acknowledging its primitiveness. The want of time and space prevents us, unfortunately, from discussing it in a more exhaustive manner. We shall not dwell on the commentaries resuming the completion of the psychological analysis by the physiological, and, in terminating, we could only emphasize the comparative facility of our translating the data of the subjective psychological analysis into the language of physiology.

We are bound to think that these data are for themselves sufficiently biological and the physiological interpretation of them could therefore not meet with difficulties. It would hardly have been so easy otherwise.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES

BY

COLONEL C. D. DALY

POONA, INDIA

(i.) THE REBELLIOUS TENDENCIES OF THE BENGALIS.

(ii.) ANDROMEDA AND PERSEUS, THE CLASSICAL MYTH OF REBELLION.

(i.)

The revolutionary tendencies of the Bengalis provide us with suitable present-day material for comparison with the sources of rebellion in mythology, and the analysis of the factors exposed in these two instances, with the aid of the knowledge which psycho-analysis has gleaned from the study of similar factors in individuals, may throw some light on those deeper revolutionary tendencies the outbreak of which from time to time marks the history of human evolution.

It is proposed, therefore, to quote instances which will provide material for further analysis, in the reading of which some patience on the reader's part will be required.

In his fascinating book, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, from which all of the extracts are taken, Lord Ronaldshay writes :

‘ The spirit of modern India is in large measure a manifestation of the pride of race of the intellectual Hindu—a thing born of a rapidly awakening consciousness of past greatness, giving birth in its turn to an extreme sensitiveness to any suggestion of inferiority where East and West come into contact ’.

To the psychologist, however, it would appear that such sensitiveness to any suggestion of inferiority could only arise from a deep-seated sense of inferiority, the unconscious source of which we will endeavour to shew. Whilst acknowledging the emphasis placed on ‘ pride of race ’ by the Hindu, we also know it to be one of the peculiarities of the race which on close observation appears not to be founded on that true pride originating in *consciousness of power*.

Many of the idiosyncrasies of man are really the over-compensation for the opposite tendencies in his unconscious. On this question Berkeley-Hill writes : ‘ We find in a recent text-book published for the use of the Central Hindu College at Benares such desperate expressions resulting from the attempt to compensate a powerful insufficiency complex as the following :

“ No other religion has produced so many great men, great teachers, great writers, great sages, great saints, great kings, great warriors, great statesmen, great benefactors, great patriots ”, and so on ; while Lord Ronaldshay refers to the Hindus’ ‘ extravagant ideas of their country’s past and their irrational dislike of the civilization, the culture, the thought, the mode of life, and, above all, the material prosperity of the West ’. It is the word *irrational* which arrests one here. Ronaldshay believes this dislike to be due merely to the Indian being more emotional than the Englishman, but this alone is not a sufficient explanation. We must look for deeper factors behind such strong reaction. He points out that from the frame of mind portrayed above it is an easy step to the belief that it is Great Britain which has dethroned the Indian people from their greatness. We agree, and will show that the mental mechanism familiar to psycho-analysts as the ‘ displacement of ideas ’ accounts for this attitude of mind, and that the problem which presents itself to us is the unmasking of the repressed unconscious ideas of the Hindu people, one which entails among other questions a correct valuation of their reactions to the ‘ Œdipus phase ’ of development, and an understanding of the anal-sadistic and pregenital sources of their character traits.

Ronaldshay quotes the remarks of an Indian publicist, Mr. K. M. Panikhar, an M.A. of Oxford University, who traces all Indian troubles to India’s contamination by the West. ‘ Without being consciously aware of it, our thought is dominated by the West. Hating it with all our heart, we may not get away from it ’. While speaking of Indian nationalism, a thing which had come out of the West, the same author says : ‘ This works itself out in its external aspect in a suspicion, distrust, and even dislike of foreigners. There is an undercurrent of violent suspicion against all foreigners in Asia ’. While, according to Ronaldshay, ‘ it is this consuming hatred of the West that is gripping the spirit of modern India. What is required to avert the tragedy in which British-Indian relations are becoming enveloped is a will to thrust underfoot this malignant growth. But it is precisely the will to do so that is lacking, and that no one seems to be able to bring into being ’.

We can hardly pass by such an outstanding character as M. K. Gandhi, for his methods are a good example of one peculiar attribute of the Hindu character ; we refer to the employment of suffering and renunciation as weapons. Ronaldshay points out that this is a product of the thought-structure of the Hindu race, and rests upon an

Indian belief of immemorial antiquity, namely, that power can be acquired by the practice of renunciation and austerities.

It is true that this characteristic is predominant in the Hindu, but we may recollect that similar tactics were employed by the Irish people and also by the English suffragettes. It is, in its essence, an infantile trait with which most mothers and nurses are familiar. It is one of the strongest weapons that the weak have against the powerful, in their attempt to break down authority and overcome rules and regulations which are in opposition to their primitive desires. European mothers for the most part instinctively recognize that they must not give way to such character traits if (a) they are to maintain their authority, (b) the child is to obtain control over those urges the continuance of which in their original paths would inevitably result in the child's developing asocial tendencies. Wives have always employed similar methods against their husbands, and where they succeed they rule. It is well recognized as one of the weapons employed in 'petticoat government'.

Ronaldshay quotes a very apt classical story in this connection, and although he has apparently recognized that it has a direct bearing on the subject of revolution, he does not seem to be aware what a very deep and fundamental significance it has for the understanding of the unconscious motives of the Hindus. This story appears in the *Vedas*, in both the great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, also in the *Puranas*. The following is a brief *précis* of it.

King Viswamitra's cupidity was excited by a 'cow-of-plenty' in the possession of Vasishta, which he determined to acquire. Failing to obtain the animal by force, he abandoned his kingdom and retired to the Himalayas, where he lived the life of an ascetic, subjecting himself to the severest austerities. His earliest reward came in the shape of an armoury of celestial weapons presented to him by the great god Mahadeva. With these he again attempted to obtain the cow, and was again defeated by the powerful priest, so he returned to the Himalayas and continued his self-imposed austerities. And so the story goes on through thousand-year periods of self-mortification, obtaining with each period ever-increasing power and reward from the gods, until in the end he obtains such power that he becomes a danger to the universe, and finally compels the gods to grant him the supreme reward of Brahminhood, and it is not until then that he desists in his course of action.

Lord Ronaldshay draws a comparison between the hero of this

mythological story and Mr. Gandhi, in that King Viswamitra started with his desire for the 'cow-of-plenty', which appears to be lost sight of as the story goes on, while Mr. Gandhi, he says, also began from a *comparatively* small thing, namely, a legislative enactment known as the Rowlatt Act, which also lost all importance in face of the convulsion which Mr. Gandhi's action produced.

There are, however, deeper conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of this story, and the revolutionary weapons employed by Mr. Gandhi, to which attention will be drawn in our final analysis of the unconscious ideas motivating such actions and methods. For the present, it is interesting to note that the Committee which was assembled to report on the revolutionary conspiracies and outrages, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Rowlatt, expressed the opinion that they were all 'the outcome of a widespread but essentially single movement of perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism'.

A considerable number of the outrages committed were directed against high officials, including a Lieutenant-Governor, District Judge, and a District Magistrate, while between 1916-17 twenty-one police officers, besides a public prosecutor and the headmasters of two schools, among others, were murdered in the Presidency of Bengal. It is to be noted that these are all people who would occupy the position of father surrogate in the unconscious of the revolutionary, thus rendering the displacement of the unconscious parricide urge an easy matter.

According to Ronaldshay, the impulse-driven criminal types concerned in revolutionary practices often shew no disposition to deny charges brought against them, nor are they oppressed by any sense of moral guilt. They have mostly been led to believe that by their acts they will obtain salvation, their unconscious tendencies having been worked upon in such a way that they believe themselves to be patriots working for the salvation of their country. Political independence in its entirety was a pre-requisite of their demands.

'So far, then, the explanation of the ferment in Bengal is a sufficiently simple one. It discloses the not unfamiliar spectacle of a subject-people girding against their impotence to influence the decisions, still less control the actions, of their alien rulers'. In which connection he quotes Bepin Chandra Pal, who, in speaking of Arabinda Ghose, declares: 'The aspirations of Young India were in his writings a divining intention of the spirit of liberty, the beating of whose wings was being heard over Asia; an exaltation in urgency, a heartening

call on his countrymen *to serve and save the Motherland*'. (My italics—C. D. D.)

In commenting on the ideals of these enthusiasts, the author writes: 'Here we have clear intimation of something other than mere political unrest'. With this statement we are in agreement, but when he ascribes it to the clash of two distinct cultures, those of the East and the West, we would suggest that in order to understand the problem we must look below the sublimated levels of culture to those buried sources of the human mind which motivate conscious actions. It is only by a deep study of the psychology and needs of the Indian peoples, and the application of the knowledge obtained by psychological research, that the British Government can hope to continue to rule them to their best advantage in the present, and perhaps guide them to final liberation from their psychological fixations in the future. Did the Hindus not suffer from some fixation in their development, it is inconceivable that a mere handful of Christian Europeans, and before us Mahomedans, could have dominated and ruled the Hindu millions.

Ronaldshay tells us of one of the apostles of the new movement who played upon the religious side of the people's minds, Barindra Kumar Ghose, who demanded of India 'men, hundreds of thousands of them, who are ready to wipe out with their blood the stain of her age-long subjection'. Through such vain talk as this, however, the Hindus will never achieve their ideals. The change in them would have to be an inward one, and if education (on which Ronaldshay rightly lays so much stress) is to achieve this object, it will only be by directing attention to that early education in the first stages of childhood during which sound character is formed and upon which the later education of rationalized thought may be built up. Such education would have to be based on sound psychological knowledge, and the change, if it does take place, must of necessity be an extremely gradual one, for it involves the revaluation of the ideas and principles of a race to meet their changing libidinal cathexis.

Reviewing the activities of Mr. Das, Ronaldshay writes: 'His dominating note was hatred—and *dread*—of everything that savoured of the West'. 'With a fine disregard of historical accuracy, the India of pre-British days was pictured in glowing colours as a land of happiness and prosperity'. In such hatred we see the displaced phantasies of the so-called Œdipus phase of development, to which we shall refer in the second and more technical portion of this paper,

while in the 'dread' we may detect the 'impotence' which arises from the uncontrollable fear of the father's power. These unresolved conflicts are later displaced on to the government which comes between the revolutionary and the goal of his primitive urges, just as the father did in childhood. The extravagant rhetoric all points to this conclusion. Mr. Das dwells on dreams of former happiness and content, but now 'the kine are dry and give no more milk, and the fields once so green are dry and parched with thirst'. Mr. Das, in reply as to how this state of affairs came about, says: 'We had made aliens of our own people. As I look back upon the dim darkness of this distant country, the past seems peopled with vague and phantom shapes of terror; and I repeat again, the fault was ours. The wheel and distaff broke in our household, we cut off our hands and feet, we strangled fortune in her own cradle'.

In these wild statements we may observe the unconscious speaking—his happiness at his mother's breast, '*the cow-of-plenty is no more*', and then, '*the past seems peopled with vague and phantom terrors*'. As we follow these ravings of Mr. Das, his childhood would seem to rise before us. We picture his early conflicts and sufferings and imagine to ourselves the circumstances and surroundings which may have instigated them.

The industrialism of Europe was anathema, a thing accursed to Mr. Das. 'Christian Europe has forsaken Christ and set up the mammon of industrialism. Must they too go groping blindly after this grisly monster? Mills and factories, like some gigantic monsters, will crush out the little of life that still feebly pulsates in our veins'.

The dread of the father and the insufficiency complex are apparent in these utterances, but Mr. Das still further exposes his unconscious motives and the trends of his psyche when he becomes a prophet and tries to answer his own question to the people.

How was it that they had succumbed to this passion for alien culture and foreign ideals? It was because when the English came to Bengal the people of the land were decadent. They were a people whose vital spark had burned low, whose religion of power had become a mockery of its former self, had lost its soul of beneficence in the repetition of empty formulæ and the observance of meaningless mummeries. As with religion, so with knowledge; the tradition of Navadvipa's ancient glory and scholarship had become a mere name and memory. And so it happened to them as it happened to all the weak. From pure inanition they had accepted the English Government and with

that the English race, their culture, their civilization and their luxuries. But the time had come when they must cast off the spell laid upon them.

We would state the case somewhat differently, namely, that to achieve its aim the Hindu people would have to make an effort to overcome this infantile and feminine tendency, and to grow up into a strong and healthy people, free from their present fear of life and of death; while the rôle of the British Government should be to act like wise parents, who constitute themselves a bridge over which their children may be guided into adult life, and may become gradually fit to face independently the realities and responsibilities of existence. But growing up is a slow process. It cannot be unduly hastened, and psycho-analysis has taught us that inhibited children, who have suffered severe traumatic experiences, need especially careful handling, while the overcoming of age-long social fixations is a matter of generations, not years.

Mr. Das continues: 'Already prophets of the race had arisen who had kindled once again the fires of ancient altars. Bankim had come and had set up the image of their mother in the Motherland. He had called unto the whole people and had said, "Behold, this is our mother, well-watered, well-fruited, cooled with the southern breeze, green with growing corn; worship her, establish her in your homes"'.

It is due from us here to acknowledge the deep insight which enabled Lord Ronaldshay to appreciate that Mr. Das was swayed by unconscious motives over which he had no control. He sums up the theories of Mr. Das as follows:

'The real interest of the address lies in the insight which it gives into the working of the speaker's mind. His whole outlook upon life is dominated by racial bitterness. The intention no less than the effect of his words must be to foster racial antagonism. Mr. Das condemned the revolutionary crimes, which he described as the outer manifestation of the feeling of impatience and despair which had permeated the minds of the younger generation, impatience and despair born of the *thwarting by the bureaucracy of a noble and overwhelming desire to serve the motherland*. (My italics—C. D. D.) Nevertheless, it was the doctrines set forth by Mr. Das and others before him, and the preaching of them, which were largely responsible for the illegitimate outlet which this pent-up energy sought. The darker shadows in the picture of Indian life as it existed when Great Britain took up her beneficent task find no place in these glittering but fanciful

panegyrics of the past. The inhuman practice of sati, in accordance with which, year after year, hundreds of women were burned alive on their dead husbands' funeral pyres, was sanctioned by the priests: the scourge of the Thugs, by whom murder by strangulation, followed by robbery, was reduced to a fine art under the religious sanction of the goddess Bhawani (Kali). But the fact that it was the British who brought sati to an end, or that it was British initiative that brought to justice in the brief space of six years 2,000 Thugs, and so rid the land of one of its most cruel afflictions is forgotten together with the mutilations and other forms of torture inflicted as punishments at the individual caprice of those who administered what passed for a system of criminal justice, before the British established a new and merciful reign of law; forgotten also is the devouring sword of the Pindaries who swept over the land. For these twentieth-century audiences, hypnotized by the persuasive oratory of Mr. Das and his colleagues, those things might never have been. For them the India of the past was a golden land of peace and plenty, the India of to-day a 'sick and stricken land, lying pale and wan under the deadening shadow of the West'.

Now let us return to some of the remarks and instances herein referred to and analyse them further in relation to the situation within the Hindu family. Mr. K. M. Panikhar's statement: 'Without being consciously aware of it, our thought is dominated by the West. Hating it with all our heart, we may not get away from it'. In this remark we clearly see the fixation to their own milieu being displaced on to Western civilization, for, granted there were no inhibitions, and granted the great superiority of intellect, etc., etc., that the Hindus consciously claim for themselves, there could be no possible reason why such an enormous population should have permitted themselves to be governed first by Mahomedans and then by the English. There would be no reason why they should not conduct their own affairs. The above speaker openly acknowledges the repressed hate—'*hating it with all our heart, we may not get away from it*'. Psychologically he is aware of the repressed nature of this hatred, for we may observe it in varying degree in the reaction of every individual. The little child, after being severely punished or unduly deprived of freedom, etc., can retaliate only in phantasy towards his (at that age) all powerful parents, and in the Hindu family the father is a mighty despot.

We know, too, that in the relations of married people a deep hate, the unconscious source of which is unrecognized, similarly keeps

people tied ; hating each other with all their hearts, they yet are held by this negative bond of hate, often hidden under an overt expression of love which really does not exist, or at any rate in a minor degree only. Such people do not readily separate, being held by their unconscious death wishes, and pleasure in the pain and suffering they cause one another.

It is hoped that the material selected above will have succeeded in stimulating the reader's interest in the subject by providing a present-day picture of the material.

We will now attempt to show the unconscious source of some of these tendencies by the interpretation of a Grecian myth.

(ii.)

Andromeda and Perseus

The evolution of art has passed through very similar stages in the various races of our anthropic species. The study of the differences in racial psychology, both in the individual and as reflected in the changing phases of their religions, provides us with material the interpretation of which gives us a knowledge of the unconscious factors accounting for their superficial variations in art.

The more primitive the culture of a people is, the less hidden is the symbolism, as is shown by the pictorial evidence of all religions, the ideal of artistic beauty being to represent that which was once attractive and has since consciously become ugly and repulsive, in such a manner that the symbolism may be enjoyed without the crude facts disturbing the mind.

The artist often unconsciously employs the technique of displacement to achieve his purpose. Thus the myths which employ the same technique are a particularly useful source through which the imaginative artist may pictorially represent the unconscious source of emotional behaviour. Such a theme, for instance, is that of St. George and the Dragon, where the dragon, a terrible monster who eats human beings, is destroyed by the hero, who stabs him or cuts off his head. The son is here shown in the glorious aspect of a hero, instead of the inglorious one of an impotent son who is castrated for his sin, while woman is usually represented by cultured artists as a beautiful ideal woman. The displacement in both cases is complete. Instead of the son being castrated (or slain) because of his incestuous inclinations, and the woman exposed as displaying those sexual attractions which in bygone

days led men to risk all to impregnate them, the son is shown as rescuing the maiden from the monster, and the monster as having had his head cut off by the son, the bloody surface of his severed neck representing the woman, which in his unconscious the son feared he would become by the loss of his phallus.

These few preliminary remarks are made to indicate the manner in which we shall approach the solution of the problem of the revolutionary tendencies in man.

A classical myth showing some of the unconscious sources of the revolutionary tendencies of mankind is that of Perseus and Andromeda. Briefly the story is as follows.

The Ethiopians were being troubled by a terrible monster, which destroyed both man and beast and ravaged the country. Some versions of the myth say that this monster had been sent to scourge the land on account of the vanities of the Queen.

The oracle of Anoman having announced that no relief for the country would be found until the King sacrificed his beautiful daughter Andromeda to the monster, she was consequently exposed as his prey by being bound to a rock on the shore. The hero god Perseus, however, returning from having slain the Gorgon, making timely arrival, slew the monster just as he was about to ravage the princess, thus freeing the country of oppression. He married the princess, in spite of the fact that she was already promised to Phineus, who was turned to stone by the sight of the Gorgon's head.

This myth is particularly well illustrated in Piero di Cosimo's picture, *Perseo che libera Andromeda dal Mostro*, in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence (see Fig.). I know of no other picture which so fully illustrates the repressed thoughts belonging to this phase of psychic evolution.

Preliminary Analysis

The terrible sea monster we recognize as the father in all his phallic magnificence. That he is depicted as having entered the harbour to ravage the country we know symbolizes the infantile idea of coitus, viz. that the father sadistically ravages the mother = Motherland.

Now if we examine carefully the monster, symbolical of the tyrannical father, we will observe the heavy body, the glaring eyes, the tusk and huge erectile tail, all of which are of phallic significance. In the original picture the head is painted red, symbolical of the glans penis.



ANDROMEDA RESCUED BY PERSEUS.

Piero di Cosimo.

It is to be observed that the breath from the monster's nostrils is proceeding in a direct line towards Andromeda's vagina. In this manner the artist introduces in a disguised form the real cause of the son's hate and rivalry of the father, for we know that the breath symbolizes semen. The theme is a similar one to that of the impregnation of the Madonna through the medium of the dove, the breath of the Holy Ghost, and the spoken word of the angel Gabriel.¹

I would ask my readers to compare Piero di Cosimo's picture with that of M. Albertinelli entitled *L'Annunziata*, the original of which is in the Galleria Antica e Moderna at Florence. Here we have the same unconscious theme, though the sexual idea is still more deeply repressed, so that the Madonna is supposed to have conceived by the ear through the Holy Spirit; yet the idea of the father (the Archangel Gabriel) behind the dove is very clearly maintained.

The one picture represents the ideal father and the virgin mother, conception without sexual intercourse. The sexual element is refined by being removed so far as possible, in that the Holy Spirit descends into the Virgin's ear, whilst Piero di Cosimo's picture shews also the repressed hatred component of the son's libidinal attitude towards his father, the symbolism of the sexual act being much less deeply disguised, the breath in this case being shown as going from the father's nostril directly to Andromeda's vagina. The son, jealous of the father's relations with the females of the family, is about to cut off the father's head (= penis), while the father is symbolically engaged in the sexual act. In Piero di Cosimo's picture the monster is shewn as being about to ravage the female, but the idea of a closer embrace is conveyed both in the breath and in the contortions of the two tree trunks in the rear of Andromeda.

The Christian picture still further refines the sexual suggestion, illustrating at the same time the displacement of the idea from below upwards, in the female as well as in the male. Hindu mythology also employs the same symbolism as the Christian, as is exemplified in the birth of Karna, a symbolism which conveys so subtly and hides so successfully the repressed sexual content. But the Christian mystery of the 'annunciation' and the Hindu birth of Karna suppress the rebellious thoughts of man towards the father, by avoiding altogether the near influence of the father = man = monster, and only attribute

¹ On this subject Dr. Ernest Jones has made a very penetrating analysis, reproduced in his 'Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis'.

the impregnation of the Holy Virgin to the far and spiritual influence of the Heavenly Father.

The father is perceived in the infantile phantasy as sadistically ravaging the mother, this element being one of the chief sources of the revolutionary tendencies of man, since the jealous son does not usually admit that the mother willingly submits to the advances of the father. In the Perseus myth the son (a hero, be it remarked) slays (= castrates) the father by cutting off his head (= castrating him), and liberates the daughter (= sister), whom he marries, thus completing his repressed unconscious Oedipus phantasies.

In the myth, too, we find that the fear of the sight of the Gorgon's head (= bloody vagina = menstruating woman) turned Phineus, who was betrothed to the princess, into stone, in which phantasy we see the *son's fear of his mother's menstruation displaced on to his hated rival* (= brother in the normal family), it being my opinion that the repression of the primary sexual impulse in man at the time of woman's menstruation results in the male child temporarily turning in loathing and hatred from the mother and all women, especially since this blood is associated with castration or death threats as well as with terrors associated with pregnancy and parturition.

Perseus is indeed a hero, for he slays both the hated mother and hated father. It is to be remarked that when he rescued Andromeda he came from the slaying of the dreaded Gorgon, the Medusa, the mythological figure representing the menstruating woman which has so much in common with the Hindu mother goddess Kali, feared and propitiated by all Hindus, while Andromeda corresponds more closely to Lakshmi, the ideal mother, though they are not exactly parallel figures.

Let us now examine the landscape. Its formation would lead us to suppose that it represents the human body with legs slightly separated and the knees apart, and, as the myth depicts the ravaging of the motherland by a monster, we may assume that it represents the mother's body. A harbour is also a common feminine symbol, especially when it is represented in this elliptical form. This finding is confirmed if we examine the top of the harbour where in the human figure the genital organs would ordinarily be. We find there a bush and the base of a substantial tree which has been cut off. This clearly represents the male infantile theory that the mother once had a penis which had been cut off, either for some offence or by the father in the sexual act. The symbolism of the landscape does not end here. The



THE ANNUNCIATION.

M. Albertinelli.

left side of the picture represents the female, as is shown by the fact of the cliff in the hill, the symbolism being repeated in the side of the hill by the steps leading up to the dark foot, indicating coitus, in connection with the female organ, and from the analysis of dream symbolism we know that stairs and steps have this meaning; while the right-hand side of the picture, with the towering hill, the village with many spires and statues, represents the male organ, which symbolism is repeated in the small wooden pier jutting out into the water and directly opposite to the female symbol on the left. Anyone acquainted with antique Indian paintings which are full of symbolism of this kind will not be astonished at this continual repetition of phallic symbols.

We may now submit to further analysis the bearing of Piero di Cosimo's picture and the Perseus-Andromeda myth on the unconscious character of the Hindu revolutionary. Let us, then, substitute the British Government, the machine which grinds the life out of Mother India, for the monster.

Such mental pictures as that phantasied and depicted by Cosimo arise largely out of a feeling of impotence, the *phantasy taking the place of action*; hence it is that people with these tendencies usually only rise to direct action under the pressure of extreme provocation or economic distress, or when their idealism is exploited by revolutionary propaganda, arousing in them intense religious fervour.

Ernest Jones, in respect of the revolutionary tendencies in Ireland, shews the great part that the unconscious belief in the virginity of the mother plays in the political conditions of the island country, owing to the fixation to the mother and unconscious infantile belief in her virginal character, and the repudiation of the father. As he remarks: 'It is no chance that Ireland, alone of the constituent elements of the British Empire, refused in the sixteenth century to relinquish the Catholic cult of the Virgin Mother, and that virginity is nowhere held in higher esteem.'²

With the Hindu, however, we have an even more subtle and complex problem than that of Western revolutionaries. In the above myth Perseus destroys the Medusa, a character very similar to Kali, two of the reasons for which we know to be (1) his deep hatred of his mother for permitting the father's advances, (2) because woman awakens his

² Ernest Jones, 'Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis' (Int. Psa. Press, London, 1923.)

fear of disease = impregnation, castration and death, while he destroys both his parents and wins the virgin, Andromeda, who displays none of the hated aspects of the mother, as his bride.

But the Indian revolutionary identifies himself with Kali, the mother who successfully rebels against and humiliates the father, and condones her criminal tendencies. For the mother, like himself, was tyrannized over by the father during his childhood. We may here suspect also a deep-seated castration wish against the primal mother, possibly having its final source in the oral sphere.

When we consider the Hindus' worship of the sacred cow-of-plenty, we cannot doubt the overwhelming importance of this oral factor in the psychology of the Hindu. The cow is *par excellence* the finest example of the loved mother with the penis, not the punishing mother of the slightly later period, but the mother who with her breasts satisfies all longings. And we must remember here the character of Hindu mothers, with their tendency not only towards indulgence but their irritability and inclination to correct severely. May it not be a result of the denial of the breast at a comparatively late age, combined with castration threats for sexual precocity after over-indulgence, that this deep-seated hatred for the Hindu mother first arises? The male child transfers a considerable part of its libido to the father, only to react again as a result of the castration fear during the secondary-Œdipus phase of development, which phase is again gone through with still further regression when the sight of a woman's bleeding vagina once more revives and intensifies the hatred of the mother; which factors of fear are still further reinforced by the mother's later pregnancies and parturitions.

The above conjectures are founded on observance of the Hindu character. However, the analysis of a considerable number of Hindus by qualified observers will be necessary finally to settle on which of these very early phases of development the greater emphasis is to be laid.

Kali is looked upon as the Goddess of Cholera, and when this disease visits a village the goddess is said to have come; that is to be interpreted as being due to a feeling of guilt, for they believe that the goddess has come to collect her debt from them. They make an image of her and carry it away from the village with much music and chanting in the hope that the disease will then leave them with the departure of the goddess. Their fear that Kali will bring them disease is also partially conditioned at a very deep level by their unconscious desire

to impregnate her, but still more so by their own fear of becoming pregnant = diseased through *contact* with her. The deep-seated sources of this dread belong to that group of fears associated with incest and the menstruation, pregnancy and parturition taboos.

It would seem that our anthropic race, after passing through various developments, *viâ* worship of a devil god, arrived at the stage of a mother goddess; from that to the worship of a hero, thence returning to the worship of the primal Father, who is again elevated to the position of chief god, a symbol of the collective power of the people. With the Hindus, particularly the declared followers of Siva, it would appear that as a result of a psychic trauma they remain unconsciously fixated to the mother, regarding the father only as a mighty hostile power whom they fear with an almost inconceivable dread, and from thence (*viâ* their narcissism) they pass again to hero-worship, as evidenced in the character of Krishna. Not only does the Hindu hero slay the monster serpent Kali Nag, which infested the River Kal Yamona, but through him all the gopis of the district become pregnant. This hero god, though the mildest of the Hindu gods, was no respecter of virginity. This myth has much in common with the Perseus-Andromeda myth, and the river in which this mighty serpent wallowed has a similar source to that of the harbour in which Perseus slew the monster. Krishna is the Perseus of the Hindus.

Todd's³ description of Bappa exploits a similar theme. This hero in his youthful games from infancy to his death impregnated no fewer than 600 maidens. Like many Hindu heroes, he was said to have been wrongly accused of stealing the milk of the sacred kine. Later, as a result of his devotion, he enlisted under the banners of Bhavani (Kali-Durga) and obtained invulnerability to weapons. One of his early exploits was to expel from the seat of his family the barbarian Selim, whose daughter he is said to have married. He then returned and took the crown from his former benefactor, the Mari Prince of Cheetore,⁴ and is said to have had numerous progeny. The latter part of his career is the strangest part of the legend. He abandoned his children and country, and carried his arms west to Khorasan. He overcame all the kings in the west and *in each case married their daughters*, by whom he had 130 sons, each of whom formed a tribe. His Hindu children were ninety-eight in number, and were called 'sun-born fire worshippers'.

³ Todd, *Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 232.

⁴ Spelt nowadays 'Chittor'.

In the light of our interpretation of the Perseus and Andromeda myth there is no need to interpret the unconscious trends lying behind the above legend. In most Hindu tales the son is invariably held to have been *wrongly* accused of his incestuous intentions, and is generally found to be devoted to the worship of the 'Siva Linga'. In this case he recovers his power from the mother goddess Bhawani, slays his father surrogates, and marries all their daughters.

It is well for us to recall here Freud's hypothesis of the origin of social relations in the primitive conditions of the primal despotic rule of fathers.

In the myth under analysis, the phantasy of mankind (the sons) is shewn in the hero Perseus slaying this mighty despot who ravages the motherland, and taking his place in regard to the King's daughter = his sister, while woman = daughter = sister is shown as submitting *unwillingly* to impregnation by the despot. But the reality of the unconscious is shown in the *bound* virgin, for the *binding* represents the primal paralysis of fear in the presence of this almighty despot *displaced on to woman*, whom the son hates in his unconscious for, among other reasons already dealt with, her amenability to the approaches of the father; the son's hatred of the mother belongs in part to her willing submission to the father's embrace. The two groups of people in Piero di Cosimo's picture may also be taken to represent, on the one side, those who are ashamed of the trepidity of the enfranchised son in daring to slay the father and take his privileges for himself, and, on the other side, the relief of mankind from the bonds of despotism, giving them the rights of freedom and love. The one group cannot look upon or contemplate this crime of slaying the father, while the other is rejoicing and making merry. The group turning away, it will be noted, are in front of the monster, while those dancing freely and exhibiting such joy are *behind him*. But the groups merely repeat the individual's dual tendencies towards the father. Both the wish and reality are repeatedly represented in this picture. According to Freud, the group wish to be governed by an *unrestricted force* and have a passion for authority. This, at any rate, is true of the Jewish family and religion. However, what is of even more importance for us here is the consideration of the libidinal ties, either negative or positive, which hold a group together. The positive tie, that of love, is the only one on which a permanent institution, such as a government with an ideal head, can nowadays hope to stand. In India one serious trouble is that the personality of the ruler does not reach the greater

number of the population, but only the disabilities emanating from the ruler in the form of a government which disturbs them by collecting taxes, etc.; even when these in themselves are justifiable they are often exploited by ruthless people, while the many advantages of stabilized government are overlooked. So that the positive libidinal tie is weak where the obvious advantages of British rule are often not so apparent to the ignorant people—where memories are short—as British rulers may fondly imagine them to be.

When we realize the nature of the Hindu's unconscious tendencies, we must see how easy it is for the young Hindu to form revolutionary groups in which the tie is a negative one of hate (having been left without any libidinal tie of a positive nature). They have engraved on their ego an ideal of the mother whose incestual love is denied them, and an insatiable unconscious hate of any power which comes between them and their primitive desires. It is this negative tie in the revolutionary group which accounts for the young student's conversion when he is separated from the revolutionary group and treated with kindness during his enforced separation. He then replaces the negative bond by a positive bond and attributes his former actions to the evil influence of the other revolutionaries. He is right in this to a certain extent, for by his contact with the revolutionary group he had *given up his own ego ideal and substituted for it the idea of the revolutionary group and its leader*.

We have dealt with two aspects of revolutionary tendencies on the part of the sons which are to some extent interrelated, but which nevertheless represent different levels in the human psyche, viz., rebellion against the father on account of the mother, and rebellion against the father on account of the sister.

It is necessary for us to bear in mind one very significant fact. According to Freud's hypothesis, the sons collectively rebelled successfully against the father, as a father, in bygone days, before the formation of society, but at a later level we know that they *failed* individually to achieve their desires in relation to the daughter and sister, when both father and son had to bow to the incest laws of the tribe, incest having become a crime which no man might commit and live. It was against sister and daughter incest that these tribal regulations were principally aimed, for it was the young and attractive women whose allurements caused the greatest disintegration within the tribes.

The Œdipus complex = mother and son incest achieved through the son slaying the father, is in present-day people disciplined at a

much earlier age than hitherto supposed, while the Perseus and Andromeda complex is disciplined later. We shall deal with these factors in a paper considering the evolution of the present-day child, being content here to draw attention to the fact that in their phantasies, as shown by the various myths herein quoted, men repeat their historically successful crime against the father, just in that situation where they actually fail in childhood, the true Oedipus complex being broken by the mother at a very early age, and the later resuscitation of this, together with the Perseus and Andromeda complex, being broken by both parents, but the father, as a symbol of tribal authority, playing the chief and the more tyrannical part.

In the Hindu, however, we have a psychology which differs considerably from the European, its equivalent with us being found only in pathological cases. *They are a race who fail in their rebellion against the father*, and as a result of this failure adopt a feminine rôle with feminine character traits. There results, so to speak, a split in the male personality, the aggressive component undergoing repression, which accounts for the childlike and feminine character traits of the Hindu as a whole, and the fact that they thrive only under a very firm and kindly administration, but if allowed latitude in their rebellious tendencies are quick to take advantage of it.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TRANSVESTISM¹

BY

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I

All authors who have dealt with the subject of transvestism are agreed that the mysterious behaviour of the victims of this perversion has points of contact with various other perverse practices. It was not until 1910 that this manifestation of *psychopathia sexualis* was, rightly, described by Hirschfeld as a specific form of perversion.² Earlier authors had classified cases of the sort on the basis of their points of contact with other perversions. This affinity leads us to hope that the psycho-analytical elucidation of transvestism may contribute something of importance to the explanation of the psychology of perversions in general. Again, in so far as the allied perversions have already been exhaustively studied by analytical methods, the fact that it is akin to them will enable us to understand the phenomenon of transvestism.

The behaviour of many transvestists gives an entirely masochistic impression: we call to mind, for instance, the figure which is the ideal of many such perverts—Hercules clothed in woman's garments and serving his mistress, Omphale. We know, too, that many who practise this perversion obtain gratification only when they are seen in the clothes of the opposite sex, *i.e.* strictly speaking, they are exhibitionists. But there are other, far more obvious, points in which transvestism is related to fetichism and homosexuality, and these points have already been the subject of scientific controversy. I refer to the over-estimation of clothing and body-linen, and to many purely fetichistic traits in cases of the sort, *e.g.* a particular preference for shoes or ear-rings. These characteristics have led writers on the subject to conceive of transvestism as a specific type of fetichism. Hirschfeld³ and Ellis,⁴

¹ Read at the Eleventh International Psycho-Analytical Congress, Oxford, July 31, 1929.

² M. Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten*, Berlin, 1910.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ 'Eonism,' *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol. VII, Philadelphia, 1928.

on the contrary, rightly emphasize the fact that the transvestist has one characteristic which is foreign to fetichism proper. To him the fetich becomes a fetich only when brought into relation with the person of the patient, not (or at any rate only in a very modified degree) as an object in itself. But transvestists want not only to wear women's clothes but to live altogether like women; that is to say, they are effeminate. This fact afforded sufficient reason for their being frequently grouped with passive homosexuals, a view energetically controverted by Hirschfeld, who demonstrated that transvestists in general are erotically attracted exclusively to persons of the opposite sex. Later, he ⁵ and Näcke ⁶ classified transvestists according to their sexual aim as the heterosexual, homosexual, narcissistic and asexual types. To psychoanalysts there is no meaning in such a classification, because it is based solely on the manifest expressions of instinct and completely disregards the unconscious instinctual processes. In this connection Stekel ⁷ is of opinion that transvestism should be construed simply as a mask for homosexuality. But the problem which then confronts us is to find out under what conditions this mask in particular is selected.

To sum up: the point which the transvestist has in common with the fetichist is the over-estimation of feminine clothes and body-linen, while he shares with the passive homosexual (and the feminine masochist) the feminine psychic attitude. The point of difference between him and both these other types of perverts lies in his specific sexual wish to assume the dress of the opposite sex. Psychoanalysts will suspect that where there is this manifest agreement, there will be a corresponding resemblance in the fundamental unconscious mechanisms. And the analysis of transvestists entirely confirms this suspicion.

Fetichism and passive homosexuality in men have been so exhaustively studied analytically that the results of the investigation can be reduced to certain short formulæ. According to Freud ⁸ castration-anxiety prevents the fetichist from accepting the fact of the lack of the penis in women, and he can love only when he has supplied his female

⁵ *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1923.

⁶ 'Zum Kapitel der Transvestiten,' *Archiv. für Kriminalanthropologie*, Bd. XVII.

⁷ Cf. 'Der Fetichismus' and 'Onanie und Homosexualität.'

⁸ Freud: 'Fetichism,' *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*, IX, p. 161.

love-object with an illusory penis. The cause of the feminine homosexual's abnormality is, likewise, castration-anxiety. He is incapable of loving a being who lacks the penis; castration-anxiety (and, of course, also constitutional factors) have led him to solve his Œdipus complex by substituting identification with his mother for his love of her. He is now himself the mother, the woman, and in this rôle he seeks for new objects, whether it be the father or a representative of his own self.⁹ The transvestist, who is akin to both these types of pervert, seems to be the one to whom both formulæ simultaneously apply: he has not been able to give up his belief in the phallic nature of women and, in addition, he has identified himself with the woman with the penis. Identification with the woman, as a substitute for, or side by side with, love for her, is so plain in the manifest clinical picture that Ellis, as we shall hear presently, regarded it as the essence of transvestism.¹⁰ But the woman with whom the transvestist identifies himself is conceived of by him as phallic, and *this* is the essential feature in the situation—a feature which, since it is unconscious, could not have been discovered but for psycho-analysis.

In the act of transvestism both object-love and identification are present, the forms in which each manifests itself being modified by the castration-complex and the patient's obstinate retention of his belief in the woman's possession of the phallus. The act has a two-fold significance: (1) object-erotic (fetichistic), and (2) narcissistic (homosexual). (1) Instead of coitus with the mother or her substitute the patient enters into fetichistic relations with her clothes, which he brings into as close contact as he can with his own person, and particularly with his genital organs. This is the explanation of the 'condition of love,' frequently met with, that the garments or body-linen in question should have been used and, if possible, should still retain something of the warmth and odour of the woman's body. This intercourse is conceived of in typically sadistic terms. (2) The patient himself represents a woman with a penis. A woman: he shouts that abroad. A woman *with a penis*: that is revealed by analysis. Here we have a two-fold representation of the penis: (a) in the patient's genital, actually present under the woman's clothes (one transvestist had recurrent phantasies of the amazement of a lover who, approaching

⁹ Cf., for instance, 'Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie,' Ges. Sch., Bd. V, S. 18, footnote.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

him under the impression that he was a woman, discovered the penis when the woman's clothes were removed) ; (b) in the garment, which is a symbolic substitute for the penis and which the transvestist (even if he indulges his passion only secretly and onanistically) always wants to display—a form of displaced exhibitionism which, like true exhibitionism, is designed to refute the idea of castration. In order to make the clinical picture of transvestism intelligible in terms of psycho-analysis we must expand these formulæ by a description of the way in which the transvestist, like the homosexual, proceeds to fresh object-choices, having completed his identification with the woman. In these choices we shall again find an element both of narcissism and of object-erotism. With regard to the former we must note that only in a subject of a peculiarly narcissistic disposition is it possible for object-love to be so extensively replaced by identification. It is a fact that the narcissistic regression manifested in this identification goes far beyond that which we are accustomed to observe in homosexuals. Love for the subject's own self—phantasies that the masculine element in his nature can have intercourse with the feminine (i.e. with himself) are not uncommon. Love for the phallic mother is often transformed into love for the ego in which a change has been wrought by identification with her. This is a feature in the psychic picture which has struck even non-analytical writers, who have described a narcissistic type of transvestist besides the heterosexual and homosexual types.

On the other hand, patients are influenced by their feminine identification in their choice even of real objects ; they want to be looked upon and loved as women or, alternatively, where the primal sadism has been turned against the ego, to suffer masochistic tortures. (Here again we note in the passive sexual aim, which, in spite of the phallic character of the illusory woman, dominates the picture, the introduction of the narcissistic factor.) Analysis demonstrates that this object-tendency of the transvestist is directed (1) in the deeper mental strata towards the *father*. In this point the transvestist resembles the passive homosexual, but the former is seldom conscious of the homosexual character of this object-choice. He says in effect to the father : ' Love me, I am just as beautiful (in the phallic sense) as my mother.' Or, more correctly : ' Love me as you love my mother ; it is not true that this wish of mine places my penis in jeopardy ! ' But the tendency of which we are speaking is also directed (2) towards the mother. This is the more superficial and obvious relation, and it was this which justified Hirschfeld, who did not include the unconscious in his purview, in

denying the homosexuality of the transvestist. Perverts of this type consciously take a special interest in feminine homosexuality ; they want to be loved as women by women, to be in the relation of the slave to her mistress. The analytical explanation is to be found in the most important accidental factor in transvestism, namely, that, as a rule, contemporaneously with the identification with the mother, there exists in another, more superficial, psychic stratum, a similar identification with *a little girl*. This is designed to secure for the subject all the advantages of a regression into early childhood. (For example, a patient of this type who had handled a female infant during the day, dreamt the following night that he put on women's clothes and during the dream he wetted his bed.) This second process of identification may occur when, as seems often to be the case, a sister has at an early period to a great extent become a mother-substitute. Then the transvestist not only addresses the father as we have already described, but at the same time says to the mother : ' Love me, I am just as beautiful (in the phallic sense) as my sister.' Or, more correctly : ' Love me as you love my sister ! It is not true that this wish of mine places my penis in jeopardy.'

II

I think it now behoves me to cite some analytical material in proof of these propositions. I will confine myself to putting before you the most important points in a case which was subjected to a thorough analysis, and I hope that they will illustrate the meaning of transvestism as I have tried to present it to you.

The patient was a married man forty years old, who, in spite of his neurosis, was successful in his professional life and was the father of several children. He suffered from obsessional neurosis and hypochondria with certain paranoid symptoms. He loved his wife deeply and was very considerate and affectionate to her, but sexual intercourse with her left him unsatisfied. He could obtain gratification only in onanism ; this he practised with the accompaniment either of transvestist phantasies, or, more often, of actual transvestist behaviour—dressing himself in his wife's clothes. The content of the accompanying phantasy was simply : ' I am a woman.' Of the details which he communicated in analysis I may mention the following : he indulged in an additional important phantasy, whose content was : ' And I am seen to be a woman,' and, further, gratification was conditional upon the wearing of women's clothes being a matter of everyday occurrence

i.e. he experienced the most lively excitation when he imagined that he was putting on women's clothes not for the purpose of stimulation but because it was natural for him to be dressed so. He had, in addition, various masochistic phantasies of the type in which the female slave serves her mistress, and he entertained the desire to be a woman, quite apart from any actual sexual situation.

From the history of the patient's childhood I may communicate the following facts. His mother died early and his father soon married again. His father was a man of a petty, fault-finding, anal character, while the step-mother was domineering, quarrelsome and very strict with the children. Evidently there must have existed a very strong sensual (probably passive-anal) bond between the father and the step-mother, but at the same time the former kept up a kind of cult of the memory of his first wife. In everything the step-mother ruled the house (here we have the type of 'the feeble father'), so that the patient had plenty of opportunity to believe in her phallic nature. His attitude to her was ambivalent throughout, but both in his hatred (fear) and his love he remained entirely passive. There emanated from her a strong atmosphere of prohibition; the castrating figures in his dreams proved to be screen-figures standing for her. When the patient was a little boy, she had forced him to wear gloves and had bound his hands to prevent his practising masturbation (or possibly to prevent his scratching himself at a time when he was being treated for worms). (This binding gave rise later to masochistic phantasies.) Moreover, as a little boy he suffered from prolapse of the rectum and, every time he defecated, she pressed back the rectum with her finger. In analysis the patient could still recall the tremendously pleasurable feeling which this gave him.

His principal sexual object in childhood was a sister three years older than himself, with whom he indulged in all manner of sexual games, mutual masturbation, etc. Probably this elder sister originally played the part of seducer, and this seduction caused a similar disturbance in his sexual development as is recorded in that of the Wolf-man.¹¹ There certainly was a period in which he assumed the active rôle in their mutual relations; for example, he remembered that on one occasion he had purposely wetted her with urine. This relation, like his relation with his step-mother, was highly ambivalent. He not only loved his

¹¹ Freud, 'The History of an Infantile Neurosis,' *Collected Papers*, Vol. III.

sister, but hated her as a rival. This hatred combined with the sensual element to produce a markedly sadistic attitude (possibly to cancel the seduction). One day this attitude vanished, and the patient became purely passive in his relation to his sister. We shall return to the question of this later passive attitude, and discuss when it developed and why. During analysis it was still recognizable in a certain apprehensiveness of an obsessional nature and, further, in an important screen-memory in which the patient professed to have pulled one of his sister's arms from its socket. Otherwise, the passive attitude was repressed, and the underlying tendency, having been diverted towards the subject's ego, had been converted into masochism.

It was from his relation to his sister that the patient developed his transvestism. His sister used to play at 'dressing dolls', and she would dress up the living doll—her little brother—putting clothes of her own on him. This used to happen when the patient was about four years old, and at first he disliked it, because it degraded him into a doll. After some repetitions, however, he began to enjoy the game, because he derived sexual pleasure from the smell of his sister, which clung to things she wore, especially to her hair-ribbon and pinafore. In his eighth and tenth years the children used to act little plays, in which they changed clothes with one another. They went on doing this in their games, and the patient, when he imagined he was a girl and especially that others regarded him as a girl, experienced pleasure which was unquestionably sexual, and was accompanied by sensations resembling orgasm. Presently his sister became bored with the game, and he had to be more and more artful in persuading her to play it. Finally he took to putting on her clothes in secret, when he was alone, and the pleasure this gave him roused a lively sense of guilt. At the age of about thirteen he forgot this game, but in his seventeenth year he recollected it and began it again with unmistakeable sexual excitation. From that time on, dressing-up in women's clothes became associated with manual masturbation, and the beginning of the perversion dates from this. It is noteworthy that for a long time the patient made use of his *sister's* clothes and, later, those of sister-substitutes. The idea of putting on garments belonging to his step-mother or to women resembling her did not stimulate his imagination in the least.

What then is the meaning of this perversion? The object-erotic factor is the easier and simpler to understand from the case-history. The pleasure which the patient derived proceeded in the first instance

from the smell of the clothes : a hair-ribbon and, above all, a pinafore, represented parts of the body of his sister, with whom he was in the habit of masturbating. This practice sometimes took the form of his sister's sitting on his knee and sliding backwards and forwards. When he wore her pinafore he used to move it about in a similar way. The pinafore represented his sister's body. Later, when he made use of her clothes instead of her person, he had the advantage of ceasing to be dependent, for his sexual enjoyment, on the caprices of his sister, who was not always inclined to gratify him. Another circumstance was that, originally, using the same bed or the same bath-water as she had the same significance as wearing her clothes. How came it about that the sister herself gradually lost her sexual significance for him, whilst 'symbols' (her clothes) were substituted for her? Analysis revealed the answer unmistakably. It was because the brother discovered that she had no penis. We mentioned the remarkable screen-memory of his pulling his sister's arm from its socket. This memory 'screened' their mutual onanism and especially the patient's sadism. Once, when he and his sister were having a bath together in the bath-room, he caught sight of her genitals, and this reactivated a still earlier, repressed recollection of his step-mother's genitals. It happened that at the same period his sister was having electric treatment for enuresis (the patient himself used for a time to wet his bed) and used to scream dreadfully when the treatment was in process. There could then, he reasoned, be only two possibilities : either the electric treatment was the punishment by castration for sexual naughtiness ; in that case he was threatened with it, after his sister. Or it was a medical remedy for the lack of the penis, which had fallen a victim to his own sadism. In that case it was but just that the talion punishment of castration should await him. In this anxiety he desisted altogether from his sadistic behaviour and turned the tendency against himself. He wanted to have nothing more to do with his sister, who reminded him of the mischief he had done, and he substituted for her her clothes, which did away with the dreadful nakedness. The bath (and, later, water in general) remained a situation of terror. We shall have to discuss the fact that his anxiety took the form that the water in running out might carry off one of his fingers or his whole body and that the dread became displaced to the water-closet, where the flush might wash away the whole child as well as his motion. So far, the patient's mental processes followed the scheme which Freud has worked out for fetishism.

The patient, however, became a transvestist because his retention of the idea of the female penis was reinforced by his identification with the woman. In later years it became transparently clear that he himself was enacting the rôle of the sister, whom he desired to *be*. In imagination he lived her life, and in the same way, after his marriage, he would feel unwell during his wife's period of menstruation. This has a significance in connection with the question of punishment. It meant: I harboured the wish to do my sister an injury, so now I am forced to become like her, so as to submit to suffering. From the point of view of his instinctual life he had sufficient reason to envy his sister. She was the elder, and both parents evidently made a favourite of her. He was especially jealous of her relation to their step-mother, who talked 'feminine secrets' with her. Later he developed a neurosis, when his parents were about to arrange a marriage for his sister. Analysis revealed the jealous thought: 'Why do they arrange for her to marry and not for me?' The patient had also a recollection, important in connection with the deeper mental strata, of a fit of envy which overtook him one Christmas, when his mother with much ceremony presented his sister with a particularly beautiful doll. Such ambivalent feelings indicated that, in obedience to the inner prohibition by which his castration-anxiety prevented his entering into an object-relation with his sister, he had regressed to identification.

Now this identification with the girl was bound to come into direct opposition to the most intense castration-anxiety. The influence of this made itself felt in the aim which the patient set before him: 'I want to be my sister and yet to retain my penis.' When indulging in his perverse practices, it was his custom, as soon as ejaculation had taken place, to tear the borrowed clothes off as quickly as possible. In connection with this he had the association that he had been warned that, if one made faces and the clock struck, one's face would stay so. Thus he was afraid that he might actually 'remain stuck' in his feminine rôle, and this would involve his forfeiting his penis. His transvestist behaviour was designed to counter his castration-anxiety. We have evidence of this in a recollection that, when on one occasion he caught sight of a crippled boy, he felt an impulse to change clothes with him. The implication was a denial that the boy really was a cripple. The patient combined his femininity with a naïve, narcissistic love for his own penis, upon which he bestowed a number of pet-names, as though it were a child. Moreover, the girl's name, which he chose to be known by when enacting the rôle of a girl, had a striking

resemblance to one pet-name for the penis. The first time he had sexual intercourse with a woman, he did not know where to find the vagina and looked for it on the upper part of her thigh. Even at the time when I knew him, he always had a feeling during coitus that he must look for something which he could not find. At one of the dramatic performances, in which he acted the part of a girl, he represented an Easter Hare. He recollected being troubled because he thought the hare's ears and tail were not stiff enough. Here we have a proof of the phallic nature of the woman whose rôle he assumed—a matter which becomes more intelligible to us when we picture the overwhelming castration-anxiety under which the patient laboured. We have mentioned that his step-mother represented to his mind the person who castrates. From the innumerable screen-memories connected with the idea of castration I will quote a single example. An obsessive action of the patient's was that of clutching at his penis (analytically interpreted: to see if it was still there) and of counting his toes (to see that none was missing). Analysis revealed that he had dreaded that his mother, in pressing back the prolapsed rectum, might rob him of the intestine, and at that time he was haunted by the fear that it might fall into the lavatory-pan. The uncanny thing about the water-closet and the bath was that the *fæces* and the water simply disappeared—were no longer there—just so, he feared, had his sister's penis vanished. Further, this idea of being 'gone' was his conception of death. And in his mind the whole terrifying mystery of castration was intertwined with the terrifying mystery of his mother's death. The content of his unconscious anxiety was not simply: 'My sister's penis vanished because of some sexual act,' but also, 'My own mother died because of some sexual act.' Accordingly, particularly during the period of his subsequent hypochondria, the patient suffered from the most intense dread of death (and especially the dread of infection, as I will show later). Detailed analysis of this anxiety led us first of all to ideas about the colour 'black' and of 'hair'. (As a child he himself had long hair and dreaded its being cut. He treasured up the locks which were cut off. His step-mother wore false hair, i.e. hair which could be taken off. The hair of the head stood for pubic hair.) These ideas led back to dreams of the primal scene and to occasions, long before his experiences with his sister, when, with anxiety and a feeling of protest, he became aware of the nature of his mother's genitals.¹²

¹² The female genital, when thus caught sight of, becomes an object of

Thus, the patient's transvestism was evidently an attempt to allay these various anxieties. The content of the perversion was : ' Phallic girls do exist ; I myself am one '.

Let us now examine his search for fresh love-objects, when once the identification had been completed, and let us consider the relation to the mother which underlay that to the sister.

The factor of narcissism was transparently clear. Not only did he love himself in the rôle of a girl (acting a woman in plays, posturings before the looking-glass, a preference for a girl's long hair), but this love took an *active* form, such as he longed for from his sister. Thus he dreamt that he was embracing a little boy, saying to him tenderly : ' My little brother ! ' In passing on to consider his actual choice of new love-objects, we will again begin with a dream. This was as follows : ' My wife had a disease of the lungs. A stout woman stabbed her in the back from behind. Thereupon I found myself in a theatre, with the upper part of my body naked.' The exhibition-situation at the end prepares us for the fact that the dream relates to transvestism. Actually the patient, who was a hypochondriac, suffered from a dread of lung affections. In the dream, he is the woman whom another woman stabs from the rear. His associations to this stab were as follows : the uvula, phantasies of poisoning by way of the anus and, finally, enemas which his stepmother had given him as a child. Before going to sleep on the night of this dream, the patient had indulged in his perverse practices. Hence we arrive at the interpretation : ' When I am in women's clothes I should like my step-mother to stick something into my " behind ", but at the same time I dread it '. The passive-anal desires implied in the patient's femininity had become abundantly clear : the recollections of enemas and the prolapsed rectum showed that these wishes had reference to the mother whom he conceived of as phallic. This is where the phantasies of the female slaves come in, the meaning being : ' I want my step-mother to treat me like a little girl, but there is no need for me to fear castration '. In correspondence with this wish the patient cherished in his mind two types of female imagos between which he strictly differentiated : the ' little

fear not simply because of the lack of the penis but because it is regarded as a menacing weapon. (The waste-pipes of the water-closet and the bath are thought of as devouring mouths.) Cf. my article : ' Zur Angst vor dem Gefressenwerden ', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. XIV, 1928, S. 404.

girl' and the 'Amazon', i.e. the sister and the step-mother. The women whose clothes he desired to put on belonged to the first type only; on the other hand, he wished to enter into masochistic relations only with women of the second, masculine type.

Having discovered this anal dependence on women it seemed obvious to reason as follows: The patient's Œdipus complex was normal in so far as he, like other males, wished to take his father's place with his mother. Only, the real father's attitude to his second wife was of a passive-anal nature; similarly, the patient wished to enter into a passive-anal relation to the phallic mother. In actual fact the step-mother tended the father in connection with his anal functions and this did really rouse in the patient the wish that his father would die.

But the child had not always seen his father in such a helpless and passive guise. Once he too had been strong and active, and it was to him that in the deepest mental strata the patient's feminine attitude had reference.

Analysis of his social inhibitions revealed that his passivity and anxiety related, fundamentally, not to women but to men. Again, his exhibitionist tendency—the craving to be admired as a woman by people in general—had reference to men. When we were investigating this subject of the father of his infantile days, the first thing that emerged in his memory was a long-forgotten figure which was a 'screen-figure' for his father: a carpenter, who had done some work in the patient's home and whose admiration he had solicited. Next, he felt an urgent impulse to change into women's clothes in front of his father's portrait. Finally, there came recollections of excitation, obviously sexual and accompanied by anxiety, which he experienced when lying in bed with his father. But the most striking thing about this part of the analysis was the way in which the patient suddenly grasped the meaning of many inhibitions from which he suffered in his real relations with men! The picture was then blurred once more by a recollection of his later childhood: 'I wanted to thrust something into my father's "behind".' We found that this implied: 'I want to love you, father, in just the same way as my step-mother does.' But we were obliged to conjecture that, before he felt the desire to stick something into his father, he must have wished his father to stick something into *him*. Quite in accordance with this interpretation was the fact that he had *not* identified himself with his step-mother; on the contrary, behind the identification with his sister lay the first identification of all—that with his own mother. His heart cried out to his father: 'Do not put

away the memory of your first wife. Remember her ; she lives still, in me. Love me, your first wife, more than my step-mother !' And the content of the fearful anxiety which came into conflict with these wishes was this : ' Did not death overtake my mother because she let my father love her ? Then I, too, shall have to die '. It now becomes clear that the overwhelming castration-anxiety, which the transvestism was designed to eliminate, was at bottom a dread of impregnation by the father. This was the meaning of the dread of infection, poison and water and also of a number of screen-memories in which the patient envied the act of parturition. As a child he must have phantasied that his mother perished through pregnancy and must have evolved the theory that having children meant losing the penis. In his transvestism he was trying to repudiate this dread also, saying to himself : ' I may wish to be a woman and capable of bearing children—and yet keep my penis ! ' ¹³

III

We have adduced analytical material in proof of all the hypotheses we put forward in Section I. If, now, we are in search of a pathognomonic ætiology of the patient's transvestism, we are obliged to admit that we have not discovered one. We must in any case assume that he had a special bisexual disposition, for otherwise the desire to bear children, for example, could never have acquired such importance. But we do not know whether, if life had brought him different experiences, his strong sadism might not have enabled his masculine side to develop satisfactorily. But this mental make-up is common to homosexual and transvestist alike. Again, the series of experiences : the primal scene—castration-anxiety—flight into femininity, based on narcissism, occurs in other clinical pictures, and we do not know what circumstances cause the belief in the phallic woman to be retained with the specific perversion of transvestism, since the above series is present in other forms of nervous disease as well. It is true that we frequently

¹³ Deeper analysis of the narcissistic mental strata finally revealed that the identification with his dead mother (her ' spirit ') was performed by means of introjection (inhaling) and that in the unconscious the introjected mother was equated with his own penis. Thus we arrived at the following symbolic equation : patient in women's clothes = the mother with a penis = the penis in general. We recollect the similarity between the girl's name by which he so much wished to be called and his pet-name for the penis.

find transvestism combined with precisely these diseases : narcissistic neuroses, hypochondria (cf. the case quoted by Alexander¹⁴) and other perversions. Over and above all this, the case we are examining seems to have been determined by specific environmental factors : the characters of his father, mother and sister, and their interplay, seem to have thrust the patient's rôle upon him. But, again, similar specific environmental conditions appear by no means rare, for all writers on the subject tell us of transvestists whose mothers had a very great desire for a daughter ! Ellis goes so far as to cite this circumstance as a proof of the purely hereditary ætiology of transvestism, but in this he is in error.

Such communications about this perversion as are to be found in analytical literature bear a remarkable resemblance to our own conclusions. It is only thanks to the writings of Freud which have appeared since Sadger¹⁵ and Boehm¹⁶ discussed the question that it has been possible for me to give a greater coherence to my account. Sadger evolved the following formula as summing up the transvestist's train of thought : ' As a female I should be loved more by my mother and, indeed, by everyone. When I put on my mother's dress I feel as if I were she herself and so could arouse sexual feeling in my father and possibly supplant her with him. And, finally, a third person derives as much pleasure from a woman's clothes as from herself and looks on the putting-on of her frock as a sexual act.' This formula is correct, but in my opinion it leaves out the phallic factor, which is so important and which Sadger does mention accidentally elsewhere, though there are yet other passages in which he contradicts this by asserting that it is the vulva which is the fetish. Boehm, again, lays stress in isolated instances on precisely this phallic character of the transvestist's perversion (' In the clothes which they put on they represent the mother with the penis'),¹⁷ and on the sadistic nature of the wishes which originally related to the mother. Stekel contents himself with the incomplete

¹⁴ Alexander, *Psycho-analyse der Gesamtpersönlichkeit*, VII Vorlesung.

¹⁵ Sadger, *Die Lehre von Geschlechtsverirrungen*, Vienna, 1921.

¹⁶ Boehm, 'Bemerkungen zum Transvestitismus,' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, S. 497.

¹⁷ Dr. Boehm has been kind enough to tell me that further analyses of transvestists have confirmed this view. He had one patient who used to turn a bottle upside down on his penis and then to put on women's clothes and dance in front of a looking-glass and so, finally, to masturbate.

statement that transvestism is based on homosexuality and mother-fixation. Pre-analytic literature gives but a meagre account of the matter to analysts, nevertheless, even the manifest material of such cases as are described in it contains all sorts of data which go to prove our hypothesis. We note, side by side with the transvestism, fetichistic, masochistic and exhibitionistic tendencies, narcissism, phantasies of the mistress and the female slave, identification with the mother, histories of seduction by elder sisters, aversion from physical sexuality and especially from nakedness, the naked female body and from homosexuality, the '*retour a l'enfance*' (Ellis), but also a passion for women of a masculine type (Hirschfeld). One of Hirschfeld's cases gave rein to his transvestist tendencies by joining in a display of trick-shooting in the guise of a woman, thus publicly courting admiration as an 'armed woman'.¹⁸ Ellis quotes one case which seems to contradict our view, because the patient's sexual aim was quite obviously castration, but this same man used to put on women's shoes and ear-rings, which indicates that, although he wished for castration, he was always impelled to cancel it again.¹⁹ Cases of actual self-castration by transvestists or of disgust felt by them for the male genital and longing for that of the female would have to be examined analytically before we could make any pronouncement about them. Ellis's theory is as follows:—All normal love contains an element of identification; in the perversion of transvestism this element is hypertrophied: 'He has put too much of "me" into the "you" that attracts him'.²⁰ This theory is, in our view, correct but incomplete. We think that we have been able to predicate something about the nature and causes of this identification. Just as correct and just as incomplete is Ellis's formula about the relation of transvestism to homosexuality; they are, he says, "two allotropic modifications of bisexuality." But it is possible to differentiate the characteristics of these modifications.

IV

We have recognized that the specific factor in the perversion of transvestism is its relation to the castration-complex. It remains for us to ask whether this conclusion contributes anything to our under-

¹⁸ *Die Transvestiten*, Case V.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, Ss. 63 *et seq.*

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*, S. 108.

standing of the psychology of the perversions in general. Sachs, in an article in which he examines the latter question, demonstrates that what characterizes the pervert is his capacity to transfer part of his infantile sexuality over to the ego, to permit himself to indulge it and by this very means to hold in repression those infantile sexual impulses which still remain (i.e. the Œdipus complex).²¹ The riddle we have to solve is how this process is possible, under what conditions can perverse component instincts retain or acquire the capacity to produce orgasm. As we now know that *all* perversions, including transvestism, are so intimately connected with the castration-complex, we can at least reply with the following hypothesis: Normally, what conditions the disappearance of infantile sexuality (the passing of the Œdipus complex) is the dread of castration.²² Now the homosexual has no regard for any human being who lacks the penis, the fetichist denies that such beings exist, while the exhibitionist, the scopophilic and the transvestist try incessantly to refute the fact. Thus we see that these perverts are endeavouring to master their anxiety by denying its cause. In so far as they succeed in maintaining the illusion that there is no such thing as a lack of the penis, they save themselves anxiety and can indulge in infantile sexual practices *because*, just in proportion as they can effectively deny the grounds for it, their castration-anxiety, which otherwise would act as a check on such sexual behaviour, is diminished. We must, however, qualify this statement by saying that this process succeeds only up to a certain point. That is to say, such infantile activities are bound up with a simultaneous, incessantly renewed denial of the reason for anxiety, and it is this denial which is represented in the perverse practice. The behaviour of the pervert implies: 'You have no need to be afraid' and, so long as he believes himself, his infantile sexual activities can produce orgasm, which signifies the gratification of his Œdipus wishes.

It is true that this hypothesis makes the feminine perversions and the whole subject of the castration-complex in women all the more problematic. Indeed, one does receive the impression that they are to some extent different in character from, though akin to, perversions in men. This strikes us, for instance, when we think of female exhibi-

²¹ 'Zur Genese der Perversionen,' *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. IX, S. 172.

²² Freud, 'The Passing of the Œdipus Complex,' *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

tionists and recall Hárnik's work on the differences between masculine and feminine narcissism.²³ Female fetichists are extremely rare, and female transvestists seem to be simply women who covet the penis and, out of desire to possess it, have identified themselves with men.

²³ Hárnik, 'The Various Developments undergone by Narcissism in Men and in Women,' *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*, V, p. 66.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

A CONVERSION PHENOMENON IN THE LIFE OF DRAMATIST GIRISH CHANDRA GHOSE

In this paper I have taken up for study an incident in the life of the dramatist Girish Babu, which is an example of the phenomenon of conversion. With the help of some of the recent researches of Freud, I have tried to find out whether some insight can be obtained regarding the unconscious activities connected with the phenomenon. Girish Babu was born in the Bengalee year 1250, and may be regarded as the founder of the modern Bengalee stage. He was the eighth child in his family; according to the Hindu traditions the eighth child is regarded as a very fortunate child, likely to exhibit some divine attributes in later life. At the birth of Girish Babu, his mother became seriously ill, and the child was nursed by a low-caste maid-servant of the house. During his childhood he received more chastisement than love from his stern mother. Whenever he went to his mother, with the hope of being fondled by her, she cruelly turned him away. Whenever his mother heard that he had used any ill-word to anybody, she used punishment such as putting cow-dung into his mouth. As a child, Girish Babu was obstinate and self-willed, so often he really required stern treatment during the childhood.

An incident in childhood showed Girish Babu how really loving his mother was behind a stern exterior. When seriously ill, at about nine years of age and lying down apparently senseless with an attack of high fever, he heard his mother imploring his father to take all necessary steps for saving the life of her child. His father surprisingly inquired why was she so anxious when she appeared not to love the child at all. His mother replied in a tearful voice, 'I am a witch. I have already eaten up my first child. Girish is my eighth child. Such a fortunate child is easily injured. Lest he be affected by my look in any way, I do not allow him to come near me. I do not take him in my lap. I do not say to him even a sweet word. Oh, my heart breaks at the remembrance of the cruelty with which I have treated the child'. This scene appeared to have made a deep impression on the mind of Girish Babu. In a short story he wrote named *Gobra*, Gobra's mother not only laments that she could not nurse her child by giving him milk from her breast, but also describes her sorrow in the words of his mother given above. In his drama *Asoka*, Asoka's mother also says similar things regarding her child.

Girish Babu lost his mother at the eleventh year and his father at the fourteenth year of his age. He married at fifteen, and became a stage manager of a theatre he organized called 'The Great National Theatre'.

The incident which is the subject-matter of study in this paper occurred about the Bengalee year 1290, just before his joining another theatre called the 'Star Theatre'. It was described in the pages 200 and 201 of the Baisakh number of the monthly magazine named *Udbodhan* (Bengalee year 1320) in an article on Girish Chandra by Srisha Chandra Motilal; this has been quoted in the book named *Girish Chandra* by Babu Abinash Chandra Ganguli. The incident is briefly this.

Girish Babu achieved a great reputation as an actor, and when he acted he became so much absorbed in his art that his outward consciousness gradually disappeared from his mind. One day, when he was in this dazed condition after a very successful performance, he felt as though the goddess Kali had come into his room in an invisible form and wanted to appear before him in a visible form. He became afraid, thinking that the appearance of the goddess in visible form would so much spiritualize him that he would not be able to live in his mortal frame, which would be disastrous to his family and relations. So he entreated the goddess not to appear before him in visible form. On this the goddess Kali became angry and wanted something to be offered to her, by way of sacrifice, which she would cut in twain by her sword to appease her anger. Girish Babu offered his art of acting as the sacrifice he valued most, and he perceived this, as it were, to be cut into twain by the sword of the goddess.

After this incident the feeling of losing consciousness at the time of playing disappeared. He developed the power of writing dramatic works, many of which have become famous in literature. He never wrote out dramas with his own hands. He either actually went through the form of playing or put himself into a playing mood and dictated the dramas as if acting the respective parts. He did not mind the anger of the goddess Kali, for he knew that she gives a boon under the pretence of anger. Thus the drama-writing in his case was a developed form of playing. The first drama which he wrote after the incident was *Dakshma-Yajna*; before playing the drama in his theatre, he rehearsed it in the yard of the temple of the goddess Kali at Kalighat, so that the image of the goddess might see the playing.

Now how did this new development come about? The Divine

Mother came and treated Girish Babu as if he was a child to her. She noticed the triviality of his interests, viz., being absorbed in his play. She took this away from him, just as a mother takes away the interest of a child from his play to help his development. In the case of Girish Babu also, when his attention was withdrawn from his play, he was able to do something more serious. In showing fear, awe, and reverence to the presence of the Divine Mother, he acknowledged his position of a child to the Divine Mother.

In the following, I quote an extract from a paper published in the *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*, 1928, by Freud on the subject of 'Humour'. From this it will be seen that the phenomenon connected with the goddess Kali can be explained as an unconscious activity proceeding from the super-ego: 'Is there any sense in saying that some one is treating himself like a child and is at the same time playing the part of the superior adult in relation to this child? This idea does not seem very plausible, but I think that if we consider what we have learnt from pathological observations of the structure of our ego, we shall find a strong confirmation of it. This ego is not simple entity, it harbours within it, at its innermost core, a special institution—the super-ego. Sometimes it is amalgamated with this, so that we cannot distinguish the one from the other, while in other circumstances the two can be sharply differentiated. Genetically the super-ego inherits the position of the parents in the mental hierarchy; it often holds the ego in strict subordination and still actually treats it as the parents (or the father) treated the child in his early years. We obtain a dynamic explanation of the humorous attitude, therefore, if we conclude that it consists in the subjects removing the accent from his own ego and transferring it on to his super-ego. To the super-ego, thus inflated, the ego can appear tiny and all its interests trivial, and with this fresh distribution of energy it may be an easy matter for it to suppose the potential reactions of the ego'.

Freud says here, 'Genetically the super-ego inherits position of parents in the mental hierarchy.' The goddess Kali in the vision of Girish Babu is a counterpart of his earthly mother. Both of them are stern and cruel externally, but possess a tender heart, which works in its own way for the benefit of the child. In one of his dramas, *Billa-mangal*, there is a song addressed to the goddess Kali, the purport of which is as follows: 'Oh, my mother who can know your nature, I am calling you, mamma, mamma, but my words do not make any impression on your stony heart'. These words can be very well addressed

to his earthly mother, i.e. he is identifying the goddess Kali with his own earthly mother.

Thus in the study of the unconscious activities of the super-ego by the psycho-analytic method, we often get materials which give insight for understanding phenomena coming under the domain of religious psychology.

Sarasi Lal Sarkar, Calcutta.

BEHAVIOUR AS AN EXPRESSION OF MENTAL PROCESSES DURING ANALYSIS

The patient of whom I write, a young married woman, has passed through a considerable period of resistance, during which the subject of enuresis had frequently appeared to be indicated without our arriving at anything definite. It then happened that, in one analytic hour, there emerged successive recollections connected with the sleeping arrangements in the patient's home, when she was in her fourth or fifth year, and certain structural alterations in the house were being made. She first remembered what it was like when the building was finished and she and a brother, two and a half years younger, slept with their beds one on each side of the wall dividing the two bedrooms. She used to communicate with him by knocking on the wall. She then recollected that, before the alteration in the house, she had shared a room and, as she now realised, a double bed with her brother. Next she recalled the fact that he sometimes wetted the bed and, further, that she complained of this to her mother. She had a mental picture of the wet bed-clothes being taken off.

I must add that one of the most prominent traits in this patient's character was her strongly developed castration-complex and penis-envy. For example, she never felt quite comfortable unless she was allowed to wear breeches, and she eagerly availed herself of every opportunity to do so—such as riding, climbing, ski-ing and fancy dress dances.

I at once conjectured that her reaction against her brother's enuresis was the result of her envy of his penis. It was a way for her to express the feeling that he was an inferior, dirty creature, who, although he had the advantage of her in possessing a penis, could not even control his urination. At the end of the hour I suggested this conjecture without going into any details.

The next day the patient began the hour with a hesitating account

of how, the evening before, she and her husband had had a quarrel, for which she alone was to blame. She had reached home in the best of tempers, but when her husband came in, her mood immediately changed. She irritated him with provocative remarks and, when the quarrel reached its climax, she drew such a wounding picture of his personality that he broke off the discussion and left the room. All the time she was behaving so, she was reproaching herself, but she could not stop. I asked her what it was that she had cast up against her husband, first and foremost, and she replied that it was chiefly his messy way of bolting his food so that he spilt the fluids on the table-cloth.

Thus her behaviour expressed her childhood's reproach against her brother which, displaced on to the oral level, she now directed at her husband. Her motive was, of course, the same tendency to depreciate his superiority.

Hanns Sachs, Berlin.

INVERSE (PHALLIC) INFERIORITY¹

Although in the great majority of cases phallic inferiority, when expressed symbolically, is expressed, as one would of course expect, in terms of some defective organ, the reverse of this sometimes happens. Perhaps the commonest example is that of a too large or prominent nose. Instead of the patient's complaining that he feels inferior because he has a weak chin, an undeveloped chest, feeble muscles and the like, he ascribes his inferiority as compared with other men to the fact of his nose being too large. We are so accustomed to this and find it so natural that it does not occur to us to regard it as a paradoxical exception to the usual rule whereby the defective penis is represented by an organ that is undeveloped. In rare cases, however, the paradox becomes so striking that it can no longer escape our attention and we have to make a thorough investigation of it. By chance it happens that I have at present two patients who show this feature in different ways. They are both men in the early twenties. One of them is greatly concerned because his chest is hairier than is usual and he fears that any woman who saw it exposed would thereupon doubt his virility. From this, and similar ideas, has proceeded a Don Juan type of behaviour, which is evidently designed to procure for him constant reassurance. The other patient has never been sexually intimate with a woman and

¹ Communicated to the British Psycho-Analytical Society, February 2, 1927.

says it would be hopeless for him to attempt to be because his penis is too large ; he is therefore doomed to perpetual chastity. The paradoxical nature of these complaints justifies the title "inverse inferiority" to denote the phenomenon.

The only reference I can find to the subject in the literature is a contribution by Oberndorf,² where a similar case to my second one is described. The patient, a man of thirty-three, possessing (as my patient does also) a strong homosexual component, complained of depression and loneliness 'which in turn depended on a feeling of inability to indulge in sexual intercourse, ascribed by him, curious as it may appear, to the unusually large size of his penis'. Unlike my patient, he had had several successful sexual experiences with women, but neither their admiration nor the envy of his boy friends had availed to shake his fixed belief concerning his inferiority. Oberndorf was able as the result of the analysis to trace the source of the idea to guilt arising from incest wishes and experiences and to the idea that masturbation had increased the size of the organ.

² Oberndorf, 'The Rôle of an Exceptional Organ in a Neurosis,'
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1923, Vol. IV, p. 103.

Ernest Jones, London.

BOOK REVIEWS

Animism, Magic, and the Divine King. By Géza Róheim, Ph.D. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1930. Pp. 390. Price 21s. net.)¹

Science, like evolution, progresses by variation and selection. Thus scientists can be roughly divided into the productive and the critical according to which of these two functions they perform. The purely critical are quick to eliminate the errors of other people; but this same faculty is apt to make them over cautious in the development of their own ideas. Dr. Róheim does not suffer from this defect. He is an extreme example of the productive type. He is prolific of original ideas; but he leaves it to others to select those which are worthy to survive.

The underlying motive in his present work is an attempt to apply some of Ferenczi's psycho-biological speculation in the anthropological field. Ferenczi, in his *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, regards the act of generation as an autotomy which is the present equivalent of the multiplication by fission of the protozoa. He suggests that the fear of castration, which psycho-analysis so regularly reveals, is a resistance against the impulse to autotomy or fission, and that this fear is only absent when the separated part is incorporated into a being who is loved and therefore treated, for the moment at least, as a part of the self.

Dr. Róheim, in his attempt to reduce the strange fears and customs of primitive man to the same source, begins by pointing out that the fundamental dread of the savage is of the loss of a part of himself. This dread he illustrates in the fear lest hair, nails or excreta should be stolen by a sorcerer, in the fear of the loss of the soul at death, and in the fear of the loss of mana which underlies taboos on intercourse. These objects are, he argues, symbols of the penis or of semen. Thus, for example, he finds evidence of the phallic significance of the soul in the Egyptian belief that the fish which swallowed the phallus of Osiris was also the fish which carried the souls of the dead to the other world (p. 31).

Dr. Róheim next attempts to explain the consolation for death offered in beliefs of a future life. He has collected considerable evidence that the other world is a symbol of the womb, and he therefore argues that the unconscious, which regards death as castration, seeks also to regard it as the only kind of castration which is tolerable, namely, coitus with someone who is loved. 'The soul enters heaven as the sperm enters the ovum, and for the same reason. The idea of the loss of the semen or of death would not be bearable without this consolation' (p. 381).

¹ For permission to publish this review we are indebted to the courtesy of the Editor of the British Institute of Philosophical Studies.

The rest of the book is concerned with the medicine man, the Divine King and the Scape Goat. The medicine man performs much the same ceremony either to kill or cure his victim or his patient. This ceremony Dr. Róheim interprets as a symbolic castration, a symbolic coitus, or as a combination of the two. Thus the kidneys were regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of lust, and in the Targum the same word is used for kidney and for testicle (p. 67). It is especially the kidney fat which is stolen by the sorcerer. Or again, the Loritja wizards smear a rope with blood from the subincised penis and project it in the form of a serpent into their victims (p. 74). The good medicine man cures by restoring what the bad medicine man has taken from the body, or by removing what he has put into it.

The Divine King and the Scape Goat are both cultural descendants of the medicine man ; but Dr. Róheim finds that their phallic attributes are more developed (p. 384). Thus the symbol of King Ericthonius was a serpent or a wooden phallus (p. 261). The Divine King was the consort of the Great Mother and he was sacrificed. He was thus a ruler who satisfied the unconscious desires of his subjects and who suffered the talion punishment for them (p. 224). The Scape Goat was a degenerate derivative of the Divine King (p. 311). He, too, symbolically performed the sin of coitus and suffered the penalty of castration.

It is impossible here to summarise the evidence which Dr. Róheim has collected to support his thesis. But anyone who reads his work with care and patience will be at least convinced of the extraordinary prevalence of sexual symbolism in myths and cults. In particular he will probably be persuaded that the soul, the Divine King and the Scape Goat are often phallic symbols, and lastly that death, and especially sacrifice, may symbolise both castration and intercourse.

This last result requires some further comment. The fact that the same situation can apparently symbolise such different things has long been a problem of psycho-analysis. Rank has attempted to explain it by reducing the impulse of generation and the fear of castration to an urge to return to the womb and to a dread of the repetition of the shock of birth. Dr. Róheim, following Ferenczi, attempts to explain the same coincidence of desire and fear by deriving them from a protozoa's impulse to fission and to its supposititious resistance against this event. Such speculations, however ingenious they may be, have not been generally accepted by the psycho-analytical school. The more usual view is that incest and castration are so intimately associated as crime and punishment that it is difficult to desire, or fear, the one without fearing, or desiring, the other.

Although Dr. Róheim has developed his argument and arranged his material more systematically than in his *Australian Totemism* his writing still displays a characteristic disregard for the mental comfort of his readers.

But it is ungenerous to criticise too severely a work which contains so much of value. For, although some of its hypotheses are extravagant and difficult to follow, the general impression which it should leave is respect for the learning, the fertility and the courage of the author.

R. Money-Kyrle.



Instinct and Personality. By A. Campbell Garnett, M.A., Litt.D., Lecturer to Tutorial Classes in Philosophy in the University of Adelaide. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1928. Pp. 218. Price 8s. 6d.)

We have learnt to expect that books on 'personality' shall possess a certain element of 'uplift.' In the present case this element is to be found in the 'urge of life' which cannot, the author maintains, be explained in terms of instinct, but which expresses itself independently of instinct in such activities as play and the pursuit of ideals. It is in the treatment of this latter that a certain mystic tendency becomes apparent. 'The altruistic motive satisfies something in our nature which the instinctive impulses cannot account for—some urge which is above them or more fundamental than they. . . . This evaluation of altruism is but a particular instance of a general trend of the human mind—the tendency to place a higher value on the goods of the spirit [*italics in original*]. The Good, the Beautiful, the True, possess a magnetism for mankind that cannot be explained by any alchemy of instincts,' and one suspects that Dr. Garnett does not wish to explain it at all. At any rate there is no serious attempt to grapple with the psychological problems connected with ideals—such as the attempts that have been made by McDougall and by Freud. Dr. Garnett has no use for the doctrines of Sublimation or of the Unconscious. He accepts most of the facts that have led other psychologists to adopt the latter concept, but explains them to his own satisfaction as cases of unclear consciousness. The most useful part of the book is that which attempts a classification of the instincts on the basis of the end-experience which produces satisfaction and a cessation of the instinctive creation—a chapter which has already appeared elsewhere in less extended form.

J. C. F.



The Marriage Crisis. By Ernest R. Groves. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London, Toronto, 1928. Pp. 242. Price 10s.)

The author is at pains to point out that the companionate marriage cannot in reality be much different from trial marriage, and having done this proceeds to expound the difficulties and dangers that would attend this latter institution. The author thinks that trial marriage or any other

system of organised sex relationship outside permanent monogamy is dangerous because it is likely to cause too much emphasis to be laid upon merely sensual attraction and because its temporary character itself tends to engender an attitude of 'looking for trouble.' It is clear that a real endeavour has been made to look difficulties in the face and to weigh the arguments on each side, and the book can be recommended as a conscientious approach to the subject from the conservative point of view. The treatment suffers however from being too exclusively sociological in nature, psychological considerations being almost entirely neglected. Thus, although much of the author's argument is concerned with a contrast between sensuality and affection, no attempt is made to distinguish between the condition of 'being in love' and the more steady and permanent elements of affection upon which most stable marriages depend. In a concluding chapter the author indicates his own remedies for modern troubles, e.g. education for family life, bureaux for family counsel, greater social freedom within married life, divorce reform, painless childbirth, family insurance and cultivation of æsthetic values.

J. C. F.



Critique des Fondements de la Psychologie. By Georges Politzer. (Paris, 1928. Les Editions Rieder. Pp. 269. Price 20 frcs.)

This is the first of an ambitious series of four volumes in which the author proposes to criticise the existing errors of psychology and show us the way out. In the present book he eloquently exposes the weak points of academic psychology and emphasises in particular its helplessness in the face of the actual problems of human behaviour. 'Le psychologue se comporte aussi bêtement devant un homme que le dernier des ignorants et, chose curieuse, sa science ne lui sert pas quand il se trouve avec l'objet de sa science, mais seulement quand il se trouve avec des "confrères." Il est donc exactement dans le même cas que le physicien scolastique : sa science n'est qu'une science de discussion.' This is because psychology has remained a doctrine concerned with abstract tendencies and forces and not with the behaviour of individuals. The remedy lies in the abandonment of abstractions and the development of a 'concrete psychology.' Three tendencies of modern thought already point the way in this direction, the tendencies represented by psycho-analysis, *Gestalt* and behaviourism respectively. The first three volumes are to be devoted to a criticism of these tendencies in order, while the fourth will bring the threads of the argument together and expound the outlines of the new 'concrete' science.

It will be well to reserve judgment on the undertaking until the complete work is before us. Meanwhile we shall merely note that M. Politzer approves of the method of psycho-analysis and admires its results, but that

he deprecates its theories, considering that these are a relic of the outworn psychology of abstractions. Psychology, he thinks, is or should be differentiated from the other sciences in that it should speak, as it were, in the first person—it should be a science of egos and not of things. Such concepts as censorship, repression, resistance, with which psycho-analysts endeavour to give a theoretical explanation of their results, depart from concrete ego-experience which is alone valuable and constitute a return to the sterile abstractions of the school psychology. Nor is the concept of the 'Unconscious' in any greater favour with our author. Like the more specific concepts of psycho-analysis, it is, he believes, in no way essential to the full utilisation or true interpretation of psycho-analytic discoveries. Its apparent necessity only springs from an erroneous tendency to realism. There is, in truth, no need at all to regard the so-called unconscious processes as actually existing at the time that they are unconscious. Indeed, the conscious itself is perhaps an unnecessary concept, and as the book proceeds there is a distinct tendency in the behaviouristic direction.

Many readers will probably feel with the reviewer, that in its present form the book scarcely gets to grips with the more positive problem as to how, for instance, the 'discoveries' of psycho-analysis, such for instance as the Œdipus complex, are to be regarded, if we abolish the unconscious; for even an explanation in behaviouristic terms seems to be ultimately excluded from the author's plan, since he says that psychology, while freeing itself both of introspection and abstraction must remain quite distinct from biology or physiology. We look forward with interest to the remaining volumes of this series.

J. C. F.



Personality Adjustments of School Children.—By Caroline B. Zachry, Ph.D. (Director of the Department of Psychology and Mental Hygiene, State Teachers' College, New Jersey). With an Introduction by W. H. Kilpatrick, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University. (Charles Scribners' Sons, London, 1929. Pp. 306. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

The author describes five types of difficult adjustments among children, namely, the troublesome child, the over-conscientious child, the over-dependent child, the over-anxious child, and the child with a polyglandular difficulty. The author evidently thinks that if enough 'facts' are collected, whether relevant or not, useful conclusions will emerge. We are thus given the edifying information about one troublesome child, Ned, that 'Ned's paternal grandfather owned a lumber-yard. He was a capable business man. He died at the age of fifty-two of apoplexy. . . . Aunt Evelyn, thirty-eight, is married. She has one daughter, aged thirteen.' Nevertheless, he means well and is evidently interested in children. Teachers will find it worth while to read the book.

Without mentioning Freud, the author makes considerable use of his concepts, such as regression, sublimation, identification, etc. The word psycho-analysis occurs only once, in a passage repudiating the need of it in the treatment of young children.

Barbara Low.

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Educational Achievements of Problem Children. By Richard Paynter, Ph.D., and Phyllis Blanchard, Ph.D. (New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1929. Pp. 82. Price \$1.00.)

In their introductory statement the authors say that their study is 'based upon data taken from the case records of the demonstration child guidance clinics in Los Angeles and Philadelphia . . . these clinics were primarily concerned with the practical aspects of diagnosis and treatment for children who presented problems of personality and behaviour.'

Child Guidance Clinics in America (as in England) do not appear to be staffed with people who are familiar with the psychology of the unconscious, and this investigation, therefore, ignores many important considerations and puts forth some curious theories. One might ask why the division into 'problems of personality,' and 'problems of behaviour' should be made, since the latter can only arise out of the former, and why, in dealing with 'personality' difficulties, should a tabled list of this kind be drawn up? Mental conflict, day-dreaming, inferiority feelings, egocentric, seclusive, inadequate, emotional, fearful, adolescent instability, neurotic: this is one table, and it seems impossible to make rhyme or reason out of it; the various attributes overlap; sometimes a *cause* is indicated, sometimes its *result*, both named side by side and equally evaluated; *manifest* aspects are not differentiated from more *fundamental* ones, and the result is confusion. The same situation occurs in respect of the table of 'behaviour' difficulties; here we read of stealing, lying, sex-experiences, truancy, disobedience, running away, speech-defects, enuresis, temper-tantrums, fighting, bullying. But psycho-analysts are aware that 'stealing' and 'running-away,' for instance, may be the same behaviour in differing form; so 'lying' and 'speech-defects,' 'sex-difficulty' and 'enuresis,' and so on. What scientific enquiry can be carried out with this haphazard reference-table is indeed hard to see.

No account is taken of psycho-analysis in the book.

Barbara Low.

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Contributions to Psychiatry, Neurology and Sociology. Dedicated to the late Sir Frederick Mott, K.B.E., Hon. LL.D., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., by his colleagues, friends and former pupils. Edited by J. R. Lord, C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.P.Ed. (H. K. Lewis & Co., Ltd., 1929. Pp. 401. Price 21s. net.)

This handsome volume (the Mott Memorial) has really been edited by a

Committee of the Royal Medico-Psychological Association, consisting of Sir Hubert Bond and Drs. Golla, McRae and Beaton, with Dr. Lord as Secretary.

There is a splendid portrait of Sir Frederick. The Editor has made short biographical notes and Dr. Halliburton supplies some delightful personal reminiscences, while a fuller account of Mott's life and work is given by Professor C. von Menakow, of Zurich. There is also a bibliography of Sir Frederick occupying eleven pages, including twelve books—a truly magnificent output.

Altogether there are thirty-one chapters in the form of scientific papers, mostly embodying original research and some appearing for the first time. There are writers from all over the world. The articles are mostly in English, but there are two in French, one in German and one in Italian. They deal with problems in psychiatry, mental hygiene, neurology, philosophy, physiology, anatomy, histology, chemistry, phonology and mental deficiency. It will therefore be obvious that any review of the subject matter is scarcely possible. Professor Sir Edward Sharpey-Schafer, LL.D., Sc.D., M.D., F.R.S., rises to the occasion by discussing whether 'Neuron(e)' should be spelt with a terminal 'e' or not—and a few similar items of nomenclature.

Perhaps it is appropriate that there should be very little psychological matter and even that the contribution of one of our own members on the 'Aetiology of Alcoholism' does not mention the strictly psycho-analytical view.

W. H. B. Stoddart.



The Devil. An Historical, Critical and Medical Study. By Maurice Garçon and Jean Vinchon. Translated by Stephen Haden Guest from the Sixth French Edition. (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1929. Pp. 288. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

This is a straightforward and conventionally written account of the Christian conception of the Devil considered mainly in its relation to the Roman Catholic Church. The authors' point of view is that the Christian idea of the Devil is almost altogether distinct from that of previous demonic figures. He ascribes the genesis of the idea exclusively to theological argumentation. As to the cult of Satan, the theologians invented this simply by reversing the sacred doctrines and ceremonies. The authors even consider that almost all the witch beliefs were created by the theological interrogators.

The medical views expressed in the book are altogether old-fashioned. Hysterical symptoms are ascribed to veiled suggestion on the part of doctors, according to the view promulgated by Babinski. A great deal is made of the necessary co-operation between priests and physicians in

psychotherapeutic work. The word psycho-analysis occurs twice in the book, but no ideas derived from that science.

The book is excellently translated but it lacks an index.

E. J.

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The History of the Devil, the Horned God of the West. By R. Lowe Thompson, B.A. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1929. Pp. 172. Price 7s. 6d. net.)

This is a stimulating and genially written essay on the Devil, the title of which is perhaps somewhat pretentious. It is in no way a comprehensive history. The Christian idea of the Devil is dealt with in a few pages, and no attempt is made to consider it from a theological point of view. The author begins with an archæological excursus in which he suggests that the paleolithic etchings of wild animals may have served as a starting point for identification of human and animal figures. He stresses the conception of horned gods and heroes through various ages and attempts to bring this figure into close relation with that of the Devil. He confesses his inability to explain the psychological significance of the interest in horns and crescents, but does not mention the well-known phallic and yoni symbolism attaching to them. Needless to say, no account is taken of psycho-analytic work on the subject.

Miss Murray's views about the prevalence of pagan religions in organised witch cults are accepted and the epidemic of witch persecution in the Middle Ages is attributed to the endeavours of the Church to stamp these out.

E. J.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY
ANNA FREUD, GENERAL SECRETARY

AMERICAN PSYCHO-ANALYTIC ASSOCIATION

The Sixth Annual Mid-winter meeting of the American Psycho-analytic Association was held, in conjunction with the New York Psycho-analytic Society, at the Academy of Medicine, New York City, on December 26, 1929. An informal dinner preceded the meeting. The papers read were as follows : (1) ' Some Remarks on Transference ', by Dr. L. E. Emerson, Boston ; discussed by Drs. White, Schilder, Zilboorg, Lewin and Sullivan. (2) ' An Observation of Super-ego Formation ', by Dr. P. R. Lehrman, New York City ; discussed by Drs. Zilboorg, Schilder, Lewin, Wittels, Broadwin, White, Sullivan, Meyer and Emerson. (3) ' The Problem of the Termination of Analysis ', by Dr. Dorian Feigenbaum, New York City ; discussed by Drs. Glueck, Stern and Brill.

At a short business session which followed the scientific programme, Dr. Brill was authorized to appoint a committee to revise the constitution of the Society.

C. P. Oberndorf,
Secretary.

GERMAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Second and Third Quarters, 1929

April 16, 1929. Dr. Josine Müller : Resistance arising out of moral masochism and how to overcome it.

April 23, 1929. Fräulein Dr. Vowinkel (guest of the Society) : Analytical contributions to the psychology of schizophrenia.

May 7, 1929. Dr. Reik : Review of Freud's study on Dostojewski and parricide.

May 14, 1929. Clinical Contributions : Dr. Lantos : Account of a case of obsessional neurosis.

May 25, 1929. Dr. Hárník : Active technique in the initial stages of treatment of a narcissistic neurosis.

Business Meeting. Fräulein Dr. med. Eda Vowinkel, Psychiatrische Klinik Charité, Berlin, was elected an associate member.

June 4, 1929. Dr. Bally (guest of the Society) : A contribution to the subject of the treatment of schizoid neuroses.

June 15, 1929. Dr. Stein (guest of the Society) : How an analysis suffered through an attempt at concurrent analysis of the patient's husband.

June 25, 1929. Dr. Raknes (guest of the Society): Aspects of the psychology of religion.

September 17, 1929. Report of the Oxford Congress, by Dr. Fenichel and Dr. Spitz (guest of the Society).

September 28, 1929. Dr. Bernfeld: Environment and its importance in respect of neurosis, asocial (*verwahrloste*) behaviour, and pedagogics.

During the Spring Quarter (April-June), 1929, the following courses were held at the Institute, Berlin, W. 62, Wichmannstrasse 10:—

1. Sándor Radó: Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. Part II. (General theory of the neuroses.) Number of lectures, 7; number present, 37.
2. Otto Fenichel: Theory of the specific neuroses. Part I. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 26.
3. Felix Boehm: Clinical notes from psycho-analytic practice. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 15.
4. Jenő Hárník: The handling of dream-interpretation in psycho-analytic therapy. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 18.
5. Theodor Reik: Seminar on the application of psycho-analysis to literature and art. Seven sessions of 2 hours each; number present, 20.
6. Seminars on technique. The various groups were led by Alexander, Boehm, Horney, Radó and Sachs.
7. Eitingon and others: Practical exercises in therapy (control analyses).
8. Hanns Sachs: Theory of the instincts. Part III. Number of lectures, 4; number present, 20.
9. Sándor Radó: Discussion of recent publications on psycho-analysis and kindred subjects. Five sessions of 2 hours each. Number present, 15.
10. Siegfried Bernfeld: Psycho-Analytical discussion of practical educational problems. Number present, 20.
11. Union for the study of the psychology of children and adolescents. Number present, 20.

Fourth Quarter, 1929

October 15, 1929. Short communications:—

1. Frau Dr. Horney: Special difficulties in treating young girls.
2. Dr. Alexander: Sexual symbolism in Hungarian folk-songs.

Business Meeting. Dr. phil. Ola Raknes (Lysaker bei Oslo) was elected an associate member.

October 26, 1929. Dr. Bernfeld: The death instinct.

November 12, 1929. Dr. Boehm: The femininity-complex in men.

Business Meeting. Dr. Radó resigned the office of secretary and

desired not to be re-elected. The two other members of the council agreed to undertake the duties of secretary until the next Annual General Meeting.

November 19, 1929. Dr. Simmel: The psycho-genesis and psycho-therapy of organic diseases.

November 30, 1929. Dr. Hárník: A contribution to the discussion of Freud's conception of epilepsy.

December 10, 1929. Fr. Dr. Jakobsohn (guest of the Society): Notes on the formation of the asocial character.

December 17, 1929. Dr. Wälder (Vienna; guest of the Society): Over-determination.

In the Autumn Quarter (October–December), 1929, the following courses of lectures were held at the Institute, Berlin, W. 62, Wichmannstrasse 10:—

1. Sándor Radó: Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. Part I. (Sketch of analytical normal psychology.) Number of lectures, 7; number present, 77.
2. Franz Alexander: Introduction to dream-interpretation. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 47.
3. Jenő Hárník: Theory of the instincts. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 35.
4. Otto Fenichel: Theory of the specific neuroses. Part II. (Perversions, psychoses, abnormalities of character.) Number of lectures, 7; number present, 22.
5. Hanns Sachs: Psycho-Analytic technique. Part I. Number of lectures, 7; number present, 26.
6. Carl Müller-Braunschweig: Seminar on Freud's metapsychological writings. Number of seminars, 7 of 2 hours each; number present, 13.
7. Seminar in technique, held weekly. *Group A*, Alexander. Number present, 7. *Group B*, Horney. Number present, 8. *Group C*, Radó. Number present, 10.
8. Max Eitingon and others: Practical therapeutic exercises (control analyses).
9. Karen Horney: Biology of Sex. Number of lectures, 5. Number present, 21.
10. Sándor Radó: Survey of recent literature. (Discussion of new publications on psycho-analysis and allied subjects.) Number present, 29.
11. Discussion of problems of the psychology of children and adolescents. (Bernfeld; Hárník.)

Dr. Ernst Simmel,

President and Acting Secretary.

LEIPZIG BRANCH OF THE GERMAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

During 1929 the weekly evenings for discussion were continued. Part of the time was devoted to the discussion of therapeutic problems in connection with cases under treatment by members of the Society, who submitted them for consideration. In addition certain meetings were set apart for theoretical subjects, opportunity being thus afforded for the discussion of recent psycho-analytical writings. During the Winter Term a seminar was held for the purpose of making a thorough study of Freud's metapsychology.

Certain guests had a standing invitation to attend the meetings on questions of theory. Such invitations were issued for the most part to medical students at an advanced stage in their training, who had already attended for several terms the lectures and seminars arranged by the Leipzig Branch under Frau Dr. Benedek. The students' seminar in the Winter Term discussed *The Ego and the Id*.

During the year the following members of the Leipzig Branch have lectured on psycho-analytical subjects:—

Frau Dr. Benedek: Rudiments of a psycho-analytical theory of character.

Herr Tore Ekmann: Contributions to psycho-analytical criminology.

Herr Herm. Ranft: Psycho-analysis and the choice of a profession.

At the invitation of Professor Krüger (Head of the Leipzig University) Dr. Herbert Weigel gave the following two lectures at the Psychological Institute of the University:—

November 25, 1929. The Foundations of Psycho-Analysis.

December 9, 1929. Psycho-Analysis as a Therapeutic Method.

A series of discussions for teachers was held at the Institute for Experimental Pedagogy and Psychology, belonging to the Teachers' Union. Under the guidance of Herr Ranft twenty-two seminars were held, dealing mainly with problems of punishment in the light of psycho-analytical writings on the subject.

During the year Herr Ekmann contributed to the Swedish journal *Clarté* a series of articles on the psycho-analysis of the industrial movement.

Obituary Notice

DR. KARL H. VOITEL

The Leipzig Branch of the German Psycho-Analytical Society has sustained a heavy loss in the death of our colleague and friend, Dr. med. Karl H. Voitel, after a long illness. Quite early in his medical career Dr. Voitel became enthusiastic over the prospects revealed by psycho-analysis both from the theoretical and clinical standpoints, and he determined to

devote his life to its service. Whilst still a student at Leipzig, he founded a society for the discussion of psycho-analysis by students of the various faculties of the University, and he became one of the keenest members of our Branch Society. His very enthusiasm and devotion to psycho-analysis prevented his becoming rapidly prominent in the psycho-analytical world. With the utmost conscientiousness he tested his knowledge and mastery of his subject and collected his own analytical and clinical psychiatric material, always in the hope that his health would improve and that he would feel equipped, as a scientist, to devote all his work to the problems which specially interested him. But he had scarcely been a year in practice in Leipzig, when phthisis, to which he had been subject ever since the war, brought his work to a standstill. He hoped by going to Davos to regain his health. But there he suddenly grew worse, and after months of illness his death took place at Leipzig on November 14, 1929. During the short period of his unhampered medical work his delicate touch had won the confidence of his patients and achieved success. His loyal work is an example to us all and will keep his memory green amongst us.

Dr. Therese Benedek,
President.

FRANKFURT PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL INSTITUTE

In February, 1929, the South-West German Psycho-Analytical Society founded a Psycho-Analytical Institute at Frankfurt. As the number of workers is small, the aims of the Institute differ from those of the Institutes of the larger branch societies. It is not practicable to train students for therapeutic work, since as yet it has not been possible to start a clinic. But the application of psycho-analysis to the mental sciences may very well be promoted by systematic work within a small compass. For this purpose we have begun with courses of introductory lectures, followed by discussions, which have led to the formation of study circles. We aim besides at introducing Freud's theory to a wider circle by simple courses of instruction and public lectures.

An academic inaugural celebration at the Institute for Social Research afforded us a suitable opportunity for beginning our work. Dr. Radó, as a member of the Council of the German Psycho-Analytical Society, addressed an audience consisting largely of members of the University and the medical profession, and including official representatives of the Medical Association. In an excellent speech he hailed the foundation of the new Institute and gave an exposition of the significance of psycho-analysis as a science, laying stress on the importance of the Psycho-Analytical Institute.

Subsequently four public lectures on the meaning of analysis were

delivered to audiences numbering several hundred. The lectures were as follows :—

1. S. Bernfeld : Sociology.
2. H. Sachs : The Mental Sciences.
3. Anna Freud : Pedagogy.
4. P. Federn : Medicine.

The whole Frankfurt Press showed a lively interest in the subject, and gave detailed and, for the most part, very sympathetic reports. Especially in the case of Anna Freud, great appreciation was shown on all sides (even amongst the opponents of analysis), both of her personality and of the subject-matter of her lecture. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* devoted to the subject of the Institute an article by Meng and a complete number of its supplement *Für Hochschule und Jugend*, to which Landauer, Pfister and Bernfeld were invited to contribute.

The following courses of lectures were given at the Institute :—

Summer, 1929

- Frau Dr. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann : Theory of the Instincts.
 Dr. Karl Landauer : Clinical Psycho-Analysis.
 Dr. Heinrich Meng : Introduction to Psycho-Analysis.

Autumn, 1929

- Frau Dr. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann : Viscissitudes of the Instincts.
 Part I.
 Dr. Karl Landauer : Disturbances in the Life of the Community.
 Dr. Heinrich Meng : Introduction to Psycho-Analysis. Part I. and Part II.

The audience at the different lectures numbered from twenty-five to sixty, and included many physicians, students and teachers. At first the Institute for Social Research lent us its lecture rooms, and since August 1929, the lectures have been delivered at the University. There has been a great demand on the library, which contains the principal psycho-analytical writings in all languages.

Our first year's work has proved to us that there is a need for centres for the dissemination amongst scientific circles of detailed information about Freud's theory.

Dr. Karl Landauer,
Director.

NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTIC SOCIETY

Third Quarter, 1929

There were no meetings during the summer months.

Fourth Quarter, 1929

October 29, 1929. Dr. Samuel Clement Burchell (by invitation) : ' Dostoievski and the Sense of Guilt '. The unconscious sense of guilt as

one of the motivating factors in Dostoevski's life and letters. The attitude toward the father, and the relationship between the onset of Dostoevski's epilepsy and the murder of his father. This situation the basis of the *Brothers Karamazoff*, where the father-son relationship was described by Dostoevski with great psychological insight, using the four sons as four psychic attitudes. In *Crime and Punishment* the crime bore the structure of an obsessional neurosis, the leading character committing the crime in order to bring about punishment. Many of Dostoevski's activities, in particular the ten-year gambling period, were shown to have been unconscious agents of self-punishment.

At the executive session Dr. Henry Alden Bunker, Jr., and Dr. Gregory Zilboorg were elected to active membership.

November 19, 1929. *Special Meeting.* The President, Dr. A. A. Brill, read the Protocol of the Proceedings of the International Congress at Oxford. The most important issue was the discussion of the acceptance of Lay Analysis in America. After a discussion lasting one and a half hours the following amendment to the constitution under Article III, Section V, was adopted: 'Non-medical persons may become members of the Society under conditions defined in the bye-laws. They shall be designated Fellows.'

The office of Corresponding Secretary was abolished, and this duty was to be assumed by the Recording Secretary.

November 26, 1929. (a) Dr. Gregory Zilboorg: Review of Alexander's and Staub's book *The Criminal and his Judges*. The evolution of the concept of justice was broadly sketched and the need for society to make changes within itself was indicated in order to render justice really just.

(b) Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe: 'What Price Healing?' Three case-histories briefly cited illustrated the principle that a neurotic disorder, which had developed a malignant conversion-process (*i.e.*, what is ordinarily called an organic disease) on being cured by surgical expediency was followed by the development of a psychosis. Case I: A woman of sixty who had had a contracted bladder for about forty years, resulting in frequent micturition which served as a neurotic outlet for character distortions. When the bladder was dilated she was deprived of this mode of gratification and immediately developed an agitated melancholia. Case II: A man of forty, cured of an esophageal stricture, which originally developed to handle an intrapsychical difficulty, on being cured by dilatation developed a paranoia. Case III: A woman of fifty with an old neurotic esophageal diverticulum was cured by surgical procedure and she developed an acute hallucinatory confusional psychosis.

At the business session arrangements were made for a dinner on December 5 to honour Dr. Ernest Jones, who was expected for a brief

visit as the invited guest of the New York State Psychiatric Institute on the occasion of the opening of its new building.

December 26, 1929 (in conjunction with the Sixth Annual Mid-Winter Meeting of the American Psycho-Analytic Association).

(a) Dr. L. E. Emerson (Boston, Mass.): 'Some Remarks on Transference'. The concept was traced historically and Freud's works were cited. Dr. Emerson added his conception of organization, and stated that according to his opinion persons may be divided into three classes. First, those who become organized in the course of development sufficiently and strongly enough to maintain their organization throughout life, notwithstanding the assaults they meet with from time to time. Second, those who are well organized, and, except for extraordinary circumstances, can maintain themselves, but who, for one reason or another, do become disorganized. Third, those who are insufficiently endowed constitutionally with an intrinsic capacity for much organization.

(b) Dr. Philip R. Lehrman: 'An Observation of the Early Formation of the Super-Ego'. Observations of a child in anxiety at an ascending balloon revealed a complicated series of phenomena which was provoked by the child's realization that she lacked a penis. Her own experimentation in destroying her doll's eyes was a symbolic activity of this dawning of castration. Tracing the anxiety led to a consideration not only of those situations which were experienced ontogenetically, but of those factors which in the broadest sense are phylogenetic and which find their way into the individual as his constitutional endowment, and is expressed psychologically as the super-ego. In the young child this super-ego, *in statu nascendi*, can be observed as being formed from resources of its own instinctual life and from its environment. At this time instinct can be seen in projection, and object-cathexes in assimilation. The full force of the castration complex now comes to the fore, as it is the summation of all the renouncements which the child experienced in its weaning from pregenital activities. The libido of the pregenital stage finds an outlet in anxiety and thus serves the psychic apparatus economically. For, since the advent of Freud's metapsychological contributions, anxiety must be regarded not only as repressed libido, but the warning signal of id activity.

(c) Dr. Dorian Feigenbaum: 'The Problem of the Termination of Analysis'. The importance of the problem led to a consideration of the criteria indicative of the end of an analysis. The views of Ferenczi, Jones and others were discussed in this connection; and the consensus of opinion cited that the development of sublimation capacity as criterion is insufficient, and that disturbing qualities of the neurotic character must be altered. Transformation of symptoms indicates approaching recovery. Observations of Freud and Ferenczi in this connection were illustrated by a

case of agoraphobia. Analysis has to be carried to the point of complete satiation and exhaustion, and in severe cases, be allowed to run its full course without interference.

Philip R. Lehrman,
Corresponding Secretary.

VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1929

October 23, 1929. *Annual General Meeting.* The following Officers and Council were elected :

President : Professor Freud.

Deputy President : Dr. Federn.

Joint Secretaries : Dr. Jokl and Dr. Nunberg.

Treasurer : Dr. Bibring.

Librarian : Dr. Wälder.

Director of the Training Institute : Frau Dr. Deutsch.

Director of the Clinic : Dr. Hitschmann.

Leader of Seminars : Dr. Reich.

November 6, 1929. Dr. Wilhelm Reich : The position of psycho-analysis in the Soviet Republic.

November 20, 1929. Herr Alexander Heissler (engineer, Leningrad ; guest of the Society) : Psycho-analysis in pictures.

December 4, 1929. Frau Hedwig Schaxel : On beating-phantasies.

December 18, 1929. Dr. Otto Sperling : Exaggeration, a form of defence against instinctual urges.

Dr. R. H. Jokl,
Secretary.